

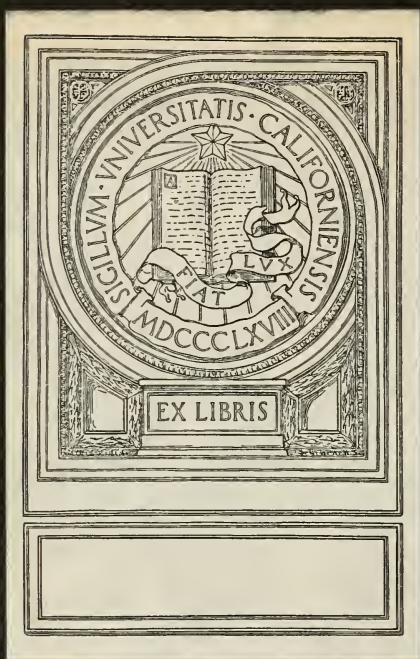
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THE PHONOLOGY
OF THE
PISTOJESE DIALECT

DISSERTATION
PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
JAMES DOWDEN BRUNER



BALTIMORE
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.
1894

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AMERICAN

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TO
PROFESSOR A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT,
OF
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND,
WHO HAS BEEN NOT ONLY MY KIND AND
EFFICIENT INSTRUCTOR, BUT ALSO
MY TRUE AND CONSTANT
FRIEND,
THIS MONOGRAPH IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.



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SIGNS OF TRANSCRIPTION.

I. VOWELS.

e	= closed e of the Italian.
ϵ	= open ϵ “ “ “
o	= closed o “ “ “
\varnothing	= open \varnothing “ “ “

II. CONSONANTS.

c (k)	= voiceless velar.
g	= voiced “
c'	= palatal c .
g'	= “ g .
þ	= voiceless th in think.
ð	= voiced th in thine.
\check{c}	= voiceless ch in church.
\check{g}	= voiced $\check{c}=j$ in June.
l'	= gl of the Italian.
n'	= gn “ “ “
ṣ	= voiced s .
z	= ts .
ś	= voiceless sh in shine.
ž	= voiced ś .
\dot{z}	= “ z .

J. D. B.



THE PHONOLOGY OF THE PISTOJESE DIALECT.

INTRODUCTION.

The Dialect of Pistoja and of the Pistojesse mountains forms one of the group of Tuscan dialects. The writer spent six months in 1892 at Pistoja and in the villages of the Pistojesse mountains, in order to collect material for the following monograph, which is based chiefly on the *patois* spoken by the natives of this district.

My purpose in this study is two-fold : to consider the dialect first from an historical and a physiological point of view ; and secondly in comparison with other Tuscan (Italian) dialects. The sources at my disposal were the MSS. of the libraries and cathedrals of Florence and Pistoja ; private MSS. and publications ; the speech of the people of Pistoja and of the peasants of the Pistojesse mountains. At Florence I found seven MSS.¹ in the Pistojesse vernacular, one of the XIII century, dated 1259 (six years before the birth of Dante) ; the remaining six are of the XIV century.² At Pistoja I found several MSS. and a considerable amount of printed matter. The most important MS. noted here is that of *Albertano da*

¹Two of these MSS. were published by me in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. VIII, cols. 208-214.

²I wish here to acknowledge my indebtedness to Signor E. G. Parodi, of the *Istituto di Studi Superiori di Firenze*, who kindly helped me to avail myself of these MSS.

Brescia, bearing the date of 1268. It was published by Ciampi at the beginning of the present century. Another valuable MS., which I propose to publish in the near future, is the *Apochalasis di Iohanni*, probably of the XIV century. Of the publications, the most interesting are those of Prof. Gherardo Nerucci, the *Sonetti Popolari* (1890) of Alfredo Pasquali, and especially the anonymous *Pratica della Grammatica per le Scuole Elementari del Circondario di Pistoja*, 1887.

After collecting all the MSS. and printed material I could control, my attention was turned to the speech of the people, in order to verify the pronunciation of what I had already obtained from the printed page or from script, and to supplement this material by drawing directly on the vernacular of the country. To this end I spent about two months in the hospitable and beautiful home, only two miles distant from Pistoja, of Signor Gherardo Nerucci, a retired professor, who has written several valuable works in the *patois*. To his kindly assistance I owe much of my material; he not only supplied me with his own books, and made it possible for me to converse freely with the peasants on his own farm, but also introduced me at Pistoja to the professors and librarians, and aided me in procuring lodgings in private families where I was sure to hear the *patois* in its purity.

During July and August I lived at Cutigliano, a pleasant little village in the Pistojesse mountains near San Marcello. Wherever I went abundant opportunities presented themselves for hearing the natives speak their dialect. Since the literary language is taught in all the schools, the *patois* is gradually dying out; in fact one cannot get the dialect in its absolute purity except from the older inhabitants, and especially from the old women.

In the following monograph I have proved that the orthography of the MSS. is phonetic; by the side of the old MS. forms are put the modern products, just as they are pronounced by the people to-day.

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VOWELS.

A

§ 1. TONIC A.

(a) *a* remains.

1. *-ario*, the learned form, is found in old Pistojesse where the modern has *-ajo*: *operario* (*J.*, 3).

2. *-aro*, half-learned: *ventaliaro* (*Gr. P.*, 43).—Cf. *Luc. calsolaro, capellaro, Racc.*, 246.

3. *-are*: *cavallare* (*Ricc.*, 5).

4. *-aio* is found in old Pistojesse: *denaio* (*I. P.*, 437).—Cf. *Luc. denaio, B. Luc.*, 12.

5. *-ajo*, half-learned: *boajo* (*j = ii*).¹

6. *-aglio*² is used along the valley of the Lima, particularly from Cutigliano to the Lucchese mountains. Most of my examples are taken from the *Mea di Polito*:³ *gennaglio* (*M.* 8), *acciaglio* 12, *staglio* 16, *agoraglio* 25, *merciaglio*, *merdaglio*, *acquaglio* 30, *macellaglio* 43, *pollaglio* 91, *carbonaglio*

¹ cf. Petròcchi, *Vocab. Pron. e Ort.*, p. x.

² cf. Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, p. 210, n. 2.

³ cf. Introduction.



108, *Feraglio* (*Due Lett.*, 19), *liscaglio* (*Uso*, 49); *paglio* *păriŭm* (*M.* 23) is not a suffix.—Cf. *Luc. febbraglio*, *Racc.*, 253, *granaglio*, *fornaglio*.¹

7. *-aglia*: *grondaglia* (*M.* 92), *migliaglia* 102, *anguinaglia* (*Uso*, 505), *fungaglia*, *poveraglia*.²

(b) *a > e*: *deva* (*M.* 5), *andeva* (*N.* 123) and *steva* 160 are formed by analogy with verbs of the second conjugation, though Wentrup (*Neapol. Mundart*, 7)³ cites the corresponding Neapolitan forms *ḡeva* and *steva* as examples of phonetic change.—Cf. *Sen. dea*, *stea*; ⁴—*Luc. devo*, *stevo*, *andevo*; ⁵—*Pis. devo*, *andevo*.⁶

(c) *a > e*.

1. Before *n*: *dechiarendo* (*MS.* 1444), *trionfente* (*C.* 25) and *sanguinente* 26 are formed by analogy with the second conjugation.—Cf. *Sen. lavorente*.⁷

2. Before *r*: *sberno* *ḡbrănŭm* (*M.* 43) and *peri* *păriŭm* (*I. P.*, 466) are Gallicisms; the *e* in *eria* (*S.*, 6), found only in *all'eria*, is due to dissimilation; *era* < *ārĭām*: *primera* [*mente*] *Al.*, 75, *lumera* (*Cino*, 228), *manera* 184.

(d) *a > ie*.

-ieri < *-ārĭŭm*, under French influence,⁸ is a very common form in both old and modern Pistojesse: *consiliieri* (*Al.* 41), *pensiieri* 58, *gabellieri*, *gonfalonieri* (*J.* 9), *cancellieri* 11, *terzieri* 24, *sparvieri* 29, *destrieri* (*I. P.* 6), *forestieri* 451, *staffieri* (*Rice.*, 7), *mazieri* 60, *aversieri* (*M.* 50), *cavalieri* 68, *cimiieri*, *arciieri* 68, *n.*, *levrieri* (*S.* 94), *paravieri* 110, *carubiniieri* 116, *camberieri* (*C.* 60), *barbieri* (*N.* 12), *currieri* 14, *perruchieri* 230, *giardinieri* (*Gr. P.* 10), *panieri* 13, *quartieri* 16, *meschieri* 17, *brigadiieri* 23.—Cf. *Sen. cancellieri*, *candelieri*, *carnieri*, *cavalieri*, *cellieri*, *conseglieri*, *destrieri*, *dispensieri*, *enfermieri*,

¹ *A. G.*, XII, 116.

² Giuliani, *Deliz. d. Parl. Tosc.*, II, 340.

³ *A. G.*, IV, 147.

⁴ *Zs.*, IX, 433-4.

⁵ *A. G.*, XII, 109.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁷ *Zs.*, IX, 520.

⁸ For another explanation cf. Ascoli, *A. G.* I, 484-5, *n.*, and Canello, *A. G.* III, 301.

forestieri, fornieri, gonfalonieri, ingegnieri, legggeri, mestieri, panieri, pel(l)egrinieri, pensieri, scardazzieri, spezieri, verzieri;¹—Luc. *forestieri* *B. Luc.*, 38, *banchieri* 71, *vinactieri* 72, *ovrieri* 101, *Droghieri* (*Racc.* 248);—Sicil. *pumpieri, argentieri, currieri, cammerieri*.²

Variants.

(a) $a > i$: *brindolo* O. H. G. *brâto* (*S.* 7).

(b) $a (+ n) > o$: *gronchio*, (*A. G.* XII, 130), *cionco*, 128.—Cf. Luc. *gronchio* *A. G.* XII, 130, *cionco*, 128.

§ 2. ATONIC A.

1. Pretonic a.

(a) $a (+ r)$ remains under influence of the Lucchese(?): *diavularia* (*M.* 8), *porcaria* 12, *biancaria* 24, *gallantaria* 64, *chiacchiaria* 65, *furfantaria*, *villanaria* 77, *grazionaria* 86, *acquarello* (*S.* 27), *ostaria* (*Gr. P.* 43).—Cf. Sen. *amarò, amarei*, etc.;³—Luc. *argentaria, porcaria, calzarotto, caldarone, lazzaretto*;⁴—Pis. *pagaria, cavallaria, Catarina, comparare, Stentarello, Migliarino, condannarò, confessaràe, lasciaremo*.⁵

(b) $a > e$.

1. Before *r*: *cherubine* (*M.* 33); the following three examples are due to dissimilation: *seramento* (*Al.* 68), *mercure* (*Gr. P.* 40), *deranno*.

2. By incomplete assimilation: *Bietrice* (*B.* 77), *Sensone* (*C.* 99).

3. Special cases: *setanasso* (*Ricc.*, 57), by dissimilation, *trebucco* (*J.* 25) cf. Fr. *trébucher*.—Cf. Sen. *effetto* = *affetto*, *Nepoleone, secrestia, seramento*;⁶—Pis. *Sensogna* = *Sassonia, Bernabe*.

(c) $a > i$.

1. In hiatus: *piese pāgēnsēm* (*Ricc.*, 30) by incomplete assimilation.

¹ Zs., IX, 521.

⁴ A. G., XII, 113.

² Schneegans, *Sicil. Dial.*, 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

³ Zs., IX, 523.

⁶ Zs., IX, 522.

2. By the influence of the following *s, z* the *a* is raised to the *i*: *monisterio* (*B.* 80), *niscondere* (*C.* 84), *culizione* 10.

3. By dissimilation: *imbasciadore*, *imbaciata* (*Ricc.*, 22).—*Cf.* *Pop. Lat. monisterio*;¹—*Flor. monistero Purg.*, XVIII, 122, *colizione Tancia*, 976, *caticrisma C. Son.*, 10;—*Sen. colizione C. Son.*, 68;—*Luc. imbasciatore Can. Pop.*, 17;—*N. Ital. munistiero, mortilitade*.²

(d) $a > o$.

1. Before labial: *oprire*, perhaps formed according to *coprire*;³ *opritura*, *oprimento* (*C.* 85).

2. Before *l, r* by assimilation: *olocco alucum*⁴ (*Gr. P.* 15), *eorogio* *Grk. αἰμορρογία* (*M.* 90), *forbottare* *bărbŭlîăre* (*C.* 11).

3. Before *n*: *sgronchirse* *crăncŭlîre* (*M.* 90), *scioncare*, § 1, variants, (b).—*Cf.* *Flor. occidente Tancia*, 948;—*Rom. oprire* (*Belli*, 9).⁵

(e) $a > u$.

1. Before labial: *cherubine* (*M.* 33), *carubinieri* (*S.* 116), *cammumilla* (*Gr. P.* 16).

2. Special cases: *intruompere* (*Al.* 23) is due to incomplete assimilation, *uccidentale* (*Al.* 54) is influenced by *uccidere*, and *uscioło* *ăşlŭlŭm* (*S.* 6) by *uccello*.—*Cf.* *Aret. cherubina* (*Belli*);⁵ *Rom. cherubigneri* (*Belli, Son.*, 165).⁵

Apheresis.

liso *allisum* (*Uso*, 40), *locco* 533, *roganza* 834, *ulo* (*C.* 8), *'gnamo* 9, *leatio* 79, *micizia* (*Gr. P.* 19).—*Cf.* *Flor. liso* (*Uso*, 40), *gnamo C. Son.*, 43;—*Sen. manza, Vignone*,⁶ *'ndai* (*C. Son.*, 32), *'ulo* 52;—*Pis. 'gnamo C. Son.*, 5;—*N. Ital. giron, sassino*.⁷

Syncope.

Pretonic *a* is sometimes syncopated in the Fut. and Condit. tenses of the strong verbs in *-are*: *dràe* (*Al.* 33), *stranno* (*J.*

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 203.

² Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 111.

³ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 51; Gröber, *A. L. L.*, III, 140.

⁴ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 180.

⁶ *Zs.*, IX, 523.

⁵ Quoted by Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 205.

⁷ Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 115.

3), *stràe* 4, *strò* (*M.* 89), *fresti*, *frebbe*.—The syncope of pretonic *a* in the strong verbs in *-are* is also a strong Florentine characteristic: *strò Tancia*, 892, *frà* 895, *frò* 908, *fremmo* 916, *strem* 930, *drei* 958, *drà*, *strà*, *fresti*, *frebbe*; ¹—*Luc. drà*, *B. Luc.*, 59.

Prosthesis.

1. Prosthetic *a* (+ *l*, *r*) is of frequent occurrence in modern Pistoiese; the *l* or *r* is doubled.

(*a*) + *l*: *allaccare* (*S.* 31), *alloscire*, *allonzare*, *allogagione* 32, *allastrico Uso* 41.

(*β*) + *r*: *arritornare* (*S.* 6), *arraccomandare*, *arricordare* 37, *arracontare*, *arriverciare*, *arrosolire*, *arrammentare* (*C.* 53), *arreplìcò* (*N.* 6), *arripesco* ('*Stor.*,' 8), *arrimettìlo* 6, *arriscontrare* 12, *arriposare*.²

2. Before other consonants than *l*, *r*: *abbenechè* (*C.* 11), *accapare* (*S.* 26), *accosì* (*N.* 6), *addimandare* (*Stor.*, 15), *appopolato* (*Gr. P.* 35), *assortire*, *assommare* (*S.* 41), *assapere* (*C.* 54), *asserbato* (*N.* 35).—Cf. *Sen. ar(r)acomandare*, *arracomidare*, *arrandellare*, *arrassomigliare*, *arréndare*, *ar(r)icordare*, *abbisognare*, *acconvenire*, *accosìe*, *allapidare*, *appoplare*, *as(s)apere*, *assortire*; ³—also in *Aret.* and *Rom.*;—*Corton. arrimpire Race.*, 265;—*Neapol. abbasta*, *abballo*, *accossì*, *arrendere*, *attassare*.⁴

Metathesis.

stranuzzire (*V. and M.*, 179).

2. Post-tonic *a*.

Variants.

(*a*) *a* remains.

1. Before *r*: *zuccaro*.

2. Morphological are *ogna*⁵ (*Al.* 14) from neuter plural *omnia*, *dua* (*C.* 20) from neuter plural *dua*, *mana* (*N.* 332),

¹ *N. Amer. Rev.*, 1832, p. 319.

⁴ *Collez. Napol.*, XXVIII, 6.

² *Arch. Trad. Pop.*, III, 373.

⁵ *A. G.*, XII, 113.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 521–22.

formed by analogy with feminines of I declension, *fuora* *förās*, formed according to *contra* and other adverbs.¹—Cf. Flor. *ugna*, *dua*, *fuora*, *mana*, *zuccaro*;—Sen. *zuccaro* *Race.*, 283;—Luc. and Pis. *dua*, *ugna*, *trea*, and the proparoxytones *zuccaro*, *cantaro*, *gambaro*, *Lazzaro*;²—N.Ital. *zucaro*.³

(b) $a > e$: *Cēsere* (*C.* 62) by assimilation or under the influence of *r*.—Cf. Sen. *sighero*, *C. Son.*, 31.

(c) $a > i$: *canipa* (*Gr. P.* 11) by dissimilation.

(d) $a > o$: *scandolo* (*Ap.* 11) influenced by the *l*.

Epithesis.

ina (*Al.* 43) $< ine < in$, *ohimnea* (*S.* 7) where the *a* represents an off-glide.

Apocope.

un' (*uncia*), *Gr. P.* 12.

E

§ 3. TONIC E.

(a) $e > e$.

1. In open syllable: *tēma* (*Gr. P.*, 49); the oxytones *me*, *te*, *re*, *tre* are learned; *neve*⁴ (*Gr. P.* 41), *nei* 50, *deve* are due to dissimilation;—cf. *Rom.* *re*, *me*, *te*;⁵—Piacen. *re*, *tre*;⁶—Mil. *tre*.⁵

(b) $e > eje$: *meje*, *teje*, *treje* (*M.*), the *e* is lengthened so that an off-glide *e* is developed and then *j* is inserted to break hiatus.—Cf. South Italian *teje*, *seje*,⁷ and especially Neapolitan.⁸

(c) $e > ie$.

1. In open syllable.

a. After a palatal in old Pistojes: *incresciēvile* (*Al.* 23), *dolciēz(z)a* 27, *agiēvile* 52, *dicieva* (*Ap.* 5), *riciēve* 11, *piangiēa* 23, *merciēde* 47, *dispiaciēvole* 73, *ciēna* 81, *faciēano* (*I. P.* 17).—

¹ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 107.

² *A. G.*, XII, 113, 144.

³ Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 112.

⁴ cf. Tuscan *neve* by the side of *neve*. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 115.

⁵ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 114.

⁷ Caix, *Dial. d'Ital.*, 256.

⁶ *Zs.*, XIV, 137.

⁸ *N. Amer. Rev.*, 1832, p. 308.

Cf. Flor. *diciervo* *Uso*, 92;—Luc. *faciervo*¹ *Uso*, 92, n. 3;—Tuscan *dicięa* *B. D'Ant.*,² 59, *piacięre*, *ricięve*, *cięra* 63, *giacięre* 65.

β. After *n*: *Valdinievole* (*I. P.* 25), *nieve*.—Cf. Luc. *Valdinievole*, *B. Luc.*, 5;—Pis. *nieve*;³—N. Ital. *nieve*.⁴

2. In closed syllable.

After a palatal: *Francięsco*, *Cięcco* (*Gr. P.* 21).

Variants.

(a) *ę* remains.

1. In open syllable: *męnima* (*Al.* 10) formed on *męno*; *primavera*.

2. In closed syllable: *architętto* follows diminutives in *-ętto*.⁵

(b) *ę* (+ palatal) > *ei*: *reie* *ręgęm* (*Al.* 53).

(c) *ę* > *i*.

1. In open syllable: *nimo* *nęmo* (*C.* 9), influenced by *niuno*. Meyer-Lübke⁶ says *nimo* is formed upon *nissuno*, but are not *nimo* and *nissuno* (both popular forms) formed according to *niuno*?⁷ *dipo* *dę* + *pöst* (*Al.* 21), *despiri* (*Cino*, 145).—Cf. Flor. *nimo*, *nissuno*;—Luc. *nimmo*;⁸—Pis. *nimo*, *dipo*.⁹

2. In closed syllable: *isse* *įpsüm* (*Al.* 22), *cui'* *ęc*[*cüm*] + *ille* (*C.* 15).—Cf. Flor. *qu'* *C. Son.*, 9;—Sen. *gista* (= *questa*) *Assetta*, 263.

§ 4. TONIC *ę*.

(a) *ę* remains.

1. In hiatus: *Dęo* (*Cino*, 365), *męo* 428.—Cf. Flor. *deo* (only in rhyme) *Purg. XVI*, 108; *meo* *Petr.*, *Son.*, 26.

¹ Both elements of the diphthong *ię* are pronounced.

² *Zs.*, XV, 65.

⁴ *Mussafia, Beiträge*, 111.

³ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 115.

⁵ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 62.

⁶ *Gram. Rom.*, § 116.

⁷ cf. *Ital. Gram.*, § 56, where Meyer-Lübke himself thinks *nimo* is formed according to *niuno*.

⁸ *A. G.*, XII, 109.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 142.

2. In open syllable: In the learned words *petro* (*Al.* 4), *convene* 13, *sede* (*Cino* 22), *tene* 356, *vene* (in rhyme) 357, *mele* (*S. Fr.* 23), *dreto* *d'ret[r]o* (*M.* 19), *allevo* (*N.* 56), *celo*, *ceco* (*Gr. P.* 20), *Cesare* 46, *gregge*, *regge*, *legge*.—Cf. *Flor. dreto Tancia*, 888, *Petro* 905, *petra* *Petr.*, *Son.*, 4, *ritene* 21, *ven* 140, *tene* 146, *dece* 200;—*Luc. vene B. Luc.*, 22, *tene* 23;—*Gen. ten, ven, deze* *děčēm*, *inseme*,¹—*Alatri mele, peče*;²—*Sicil. deči, meli* with final *i*, *petra*.³

3. In closed syllable.

a. Before nas. + cons.: In the learned words *scendere* (*Gr. P.* 49), *faccenda*, *grembo* *grēmīŭm*; *tempio* is formed under the influence of *tempo*.

β. Before open cons.: *fancello* (*Al.* 42) is due to change of suffix,⁴ *stella*, *ellera* *hěděrām*, *ermo* *ěrēmŭm*.—Cf. *Logdu. stella, erta*;⁵—*Mil. stella*.⁶

(b) *e* (in closed syllable) > *e*.

1. Before *n'*: *vegno* (*Cino*, 139), *tegno*—the *n'* raises the *e* to *e*.

2. *cutrettola*⁷ cauda + *trěpďdām* follows diminutives in *-etto*.

(c) *e* > *iē*.

1. Before hiatus *i*: *riei* (*Al.* 38), *Graciadiēi* (*MS.* 1364), *siei*, *es* (*M.* 70).

2. In open syllable.

a. After a palatal: *primogiēnito* (*Ap.* 3), *ciētere* 23, *giēneri* (*Gr. P.* 43).

β. After other consonants: *lievora* (*Al.* 7), *siēguito* 14, *siēdere* < *sěděre* < *sědēre* (*M.* 22), *niēgo* (*C.* 32), *liēpre* 39, *liēva* (*Gr. P.* 19), and even after cons. + *r*: *priēgo* (*S. Fr.* 8) by the side of *Flor. prego*⁸ *Tancia*, 902; *briēve*, *griēve* (*Cino*, 308) is out of secondary *e*.—In early Tuscan the diphthong *iē*

¹ *Ibid.*, X, 144.

³ Schneegans, *Sicil. Dial.*, 17.

² Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 45.

⁴ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II.

⁵ *A. G.*, XIII, 137. This *e* is not so open, however, as in Tuscan. *Ibid.*, 140, n. 1.

⁶ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 91.

⁷ *Ibid.*, § 62.

⁸ *Ibid.*, § 88.

and the simple ϵ are found side by side. Dante uses $i\epsilon$ in open syllable rarely: *triagua* Inf. VII, 88;—*Intell. niego*, *priego*, *lievo*;—Bocc. *priego*, Dec. I, 1; *B. D'Ant. priego*, *lieva*;¹—Sen. *lieva* by the side of *leve*, *Pietro*, *Petro*, *Siena*, *Sena*;²—Pad. *priega*, *lieva*, *mierita*, *sieguita*;³—old Venet. *lievore*, *brieve*, *lieve*, *grieve*, *niega*, *siegua*, *prieghi*;⁴ N. Ital. *priego*.⁵

3. In closed syllable. This phenomenon is quite common, particularly in old Pistoiese when the ϵ is preceded by a palatal and followed by a nas. + cons. Both elements of the diphthong $i\epsilon$ are pronounced.⁶

α . The old gerundives *nosciendo* (Al. 23), *faciando* 27, *vegiendo* (B. 77), *diciendo* (Ap. 7), *affligiendosi* 49, *piangiendo* 77.

β . *Vinciendo* (Al. 27), *ciento* (B. 81), *incienso* (Ap. 33), *argiento* 41, *piangienti* 77, *giente* (Gr. P. 21).

γ . ϵ followed by nas. + cons., but not preceded by a palatal: The gerundives *habiendo* (J. 15), *volliendo* (Al. 55), *poni-endo* 56, *formiando* (I. P. 247), *sappiando* (S. Fr. 62), and the modern forms *tiengo* (M. 21), *viengo* (C. 18).

δ . ϵ preceded by a palatal but not followed by nas. + cons.: *statieia* (Al. 4) probably out of *stătërîa*,⁷ *cierto* 27, *lucierna* (Ap. 79), *ricietto* (M. 153), *ucciello* *aucëllum* (Gr. P. 20).—Cf. Flor. *ciento* Crest., 20, *deciembre* 28, *tiengo* C. Son., 38, *vienga* 51;—Sen. *viengo* C. Son., 7;—Luc. *sapiendo* B. Luc., 3, *abbiendo* 55, *facciendosi* 64, *tiengo*, *viengo*;⁸—Pis. *tiengo*, *viengo*;⁹—B. D'Ant. *ciento* Zs., XV, 56, *digiendo* 58, *cierto* 60, *argiento* 61, *cierbia* 67;—Neapol. *priesto*, *tormiento*, *cappiello*, *castiello*, *viento*.¹⁰

Variants.

(a) ϵ (+ n + cons.) > a in old Pistoiese: *sostenanze* (Al. 20), *sanza* *ăbsëntîă* (B. 82).—Cf. Flor. *sustanza*, Par. VII, 5,

¹ Zs., XV, 63, 68.

² Ibid., IX, 523.

³ Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 8.

⁴ A. G., XII, 248.

⁵ Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 111.

⁶ Also in Lucchese. Cf. *Uso*, 92, n. 3.

⁷ Parodi, *Romania*, XVIII, 596.

⁸ A. G., XII, 164.

⁹ Ibid., 176.

¹⁰ *Collez. Napol.*, XXVIII, 5.

sanza Intell., 155;—*Aret. sanza* (Billi);¹—*sanza* is found in many old Tuscan texts;²—*Fr. sans*.

(b) *e* (+ *n'*) after a palatal > *iē*: *ingiegno* *ingēnŭm* (*Gr. P.* 25); the *n'* raises the *e* to *e*.

(c) *e* (in open syllable) > *i*: *migghio* (*S.* 5) by assimilation, *undicima* (*Al.* 8) influenced by *undici*.

(d) *e* (in closed syllable) > *u*: *nuse* *ēxīt* (*N.* 89) formed by analogy with pretonic *u* in *uscire* = *uscio* + *ēxire*.—*Cf. Pis. usce*.³

§ 5. ATONIC E.

1. Pretonic *e*.

(a) *e* remains.

1. In hiatus: *neuno* (*Al.* 3), *ciascheuno* 12 is the primitive and legitimate form out of *quīsquē* + *ūnum*; ⁴ *neente* (*I. P.* 109).—*Cf. Brunetto Latini*, who has *neuno*, *neente*, while *Dante* has the forms in *i*; both, however, have the forms *leone*, *leale*, *beato*, *creare*; ⁵—*Intell. neente* 130;—*Luc. neuno* 'B. Luc.', 4, *cescheuno* 93.

2. Latinisms are *incontenente* (*Al.* 21), *Melano* (*Ricc.*, 22), *pregione* (*Cino*, 435), *asseguro* (*M.* 107), *securο* (*Gr. P.* 41); original Latin pretonic *e* is also preserved in *averebbe* (*I. P.* 177), *affinechè* 256, *operire* (*S.* 6), *adoperare* (*C.* 47), *serebbe* (*N.* 28), *saperrà* 46, *lemosena* 200, *avvederai* 439, *poterebbe* 452.—*Cf. Sen. misurare, pregione, securο, fenestra, Renaldo, signore*; ⁶—*Luc. serà B. Luc.*, 28, *poteranno* 79, *menuto* 81, *seguro, pregione*; ⁷—*Pis. averè C. Son.*, 22, *securο, misura, Melano, pregione*; ⁸—*B. D'Ant. averebbe, saperebbe, poterebbe*; ⁹—*Aret. securο Guit.*, 6, *pregione* 14;—*Petr. securà* 7;—modern poetry prefers *nepote, securο*, etc.; ¹⁰—*Logdu. misura*; ¹¹—*Pad.*

¹ Quoted by Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 205.

² *Zs.*, IX, 524.

³ *A. G.*, XII, 142.

⁴ Caix, *Studi*, § 20.

⁵ Zehle, *Laut- und Flex.*, 21.

⁶ *Zs.*, IX, 532-3.

⁷ *A. G.*, XII, 113.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁹ *Zs.*, XV, 72-3.

¹⁰ Caix, *Origini*, 61.

¹¹ *A. G.*, XIII, 106.

segure, misura, preson; ¹—Gen. *preson, misura, seguro, segnor, bisogno*, and in the proclitics and enclitics *me, te, se*.²

3. The prefix *de-* is sometimes preserved: *denanzi* (*Al.* 9), *dechiarendo* (*MS.* 1444), *defetto* (*N.* 276), *defende* (*Gr. P.* 36), *deliberare*,³ *desiderare, devenire*.—Cf. *Flor. depende Par.* XXVIII, 42, *desiderio Par.* XXXIII, 48, by the side of *disiderio Purg.* XV, 33;—Sen. *denanzi, defetto, dechiarare, deliberare, devenire*; ³—Luc. and Pis. *defetto*.⁴

(b) $e > a$. This development of pretonic $e > a$ is a prominent characteristic of both old and modern Pistojesse; the change may take place before any consonant or group of consonants. Assimilation and dissimilation play an important part in this development.

1. By assimilation: *aguale*⁵ (*Al.* 13), *asaminare* 43, *contastare* 59, *damando* (*I. P.* 230), *sanato* 468, *raguardate* (*S. Fr.* 12), *maladire, maladeggio* (*S.* 98), *matafera mētāphōrām* (*Gr. P.* 13), *maladizione* 15, *pallareccio pālěā + ērīcīūm* 16, *sgangarato cāncēr + ātūm*⁶ (*M.* 107); *antrata* (*Al.* 23) and *gandarmi* (*Son. Pop.*, 49) are influenced by the nasal (+ cons.).⁷

2. By dissimilation: *asempri ēxēmplūm* (*Al.* 9), *amendare, aleg(g)ersi*⁵ *ēlīgēre* 13, *piatosa* (*Cino*, 308), *aterno* (*M.* 10, n.), *assercito* (*S.* 13), *abbreo*⁵ (*C.* 45).

3. Before *r*: *quarelle* (*M.* 35), *arredi hērēdēm* 48; *marcoledie* (*S.* 7) and possibly (?) *vennardì* 187 are influenced by *martedì*; *sargente sērvičētēm* (*Gr. P.* 11) influenced by O. H. G. *scarjo*⁸ and Span. *sargento*; *iarsera* (*Uso*, 470).

4. Special cases: *afecto* (*Al.* 5) = *effetto* is confounded with *affetto*; *dapoi* (*M.* 1534), *sagreto* = *sēcērētūm + sācērātūm* (*M.* 10, n.), *aducazione* (*C.* 44), *oppuramente* (*N.* 2) is formed by analogy with *solamente* and other adverbs; the pretonic *a* in *tutt' addua* (*N.* 218) comes from the neuter plural.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. camaratum, Marcator, marcado, pargamina, Armogenes,*

¹ Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 15.

² Flechia, *A. G.*, X, 147.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 532.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 113, 144.

⁵ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 137.

⁶ Canello, *A. G.*, III, 360.

⁷ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 368.

⁸ Diez, *Wörterbuch*, p. 292.



Calandina, *iantare*, *aclesia*, *Amatista*, *Matauro*;¹—many other dialects change pretonic *e* to *a* particularly before *r*: Flor. *aterno* *Lam. di Cec.*, 3, *accellenza* 33, *assendo*, *sagreto Tancia*, 905, *iarsera* 919, *aducazione C. Son.*, 47, *sarvare* 86, *sarvietta* 96; —Sen. *iarsera*, *venardì*, *Arcolano*, *arrare* (errare), *caldarone*, *comparare*, *delibarare*, *parsona*, *povaretto*, *serafino*, *vitoparoso*, *Aduardo*, *agualmente*, *carastia*, *piatoso*, *sanatore*;²—Luc. *venardie*, *quarella*, *gliarsera*,³ *cambariera*;⁴—Pis. *venardie*, *Valariano*, *piatà*, *ialsera* = *iersera*,⁵ *aduaione C. Son.*, 47; —Corton. *jarsera* *Racc.*, 258, *sapparà* 259; —Emil. *sarpen*t, *narburù*,⁶ *arsira*;⁷—Pad. *alletto*, *piatoso*, *spiandore*, *arroke*, *arsera*;⁸—Gen. *asempio*, *aspose*, *aspeitar*, *axalla*, *axamiano*, *arroke*, *marcante*, *sarafim*, *sarmon*;⁹—Mil. *quarella*, *marmoria*, *venardi*, *parchè*;¹⁰—N. Ital. *damanda*, *piatosa*, *splandore*, *aspeto*, *adeificare*, *imparadore*;¹¹—Campobasso, *maremma*, *cumarella* (cu)cumerella.¹²

(c) *e* (+ palatal) > *ei* in hiatus in old Pistoiese: *neiente* nec + *ëntēm* (*Al.* 9), *leiatì* lēgālem (*J.* 2).

(d) *e* > *i*.

1. In hiatus.

a. *e* + *a* > *i* + *a*: *criatura* (*Al.* 63), *biato*, *Biatrice* (*B.* 79), *crianzia* (*M.* 83), *riavisassi rē* + *ādvīsāre* (*C.* 93).

β. *e* + *a* > *i* + *e*: *Bietrice* (*B.* 77).

γ. *e* + *i* > *i* + *e*: *dientro dē* + *īntro* (*Gr. P.* 22).

δ. *e* + *u* > *i* + *o*: *riobarbero rēūbārbārūm* (*Gr. P.* 14).

2. By assimilation.

a. *siguitamente* (*Al.* 28), *pigiore* 47, *milliore* 49, *cilimonière* (*M.* 75), *zinia γεveά* (*S.* 10), *pricissione* prōcēssīōnēm (*C.* 12), *carizia cārēstīām* 61, *diserizione* dīscrētīōnēm (*N.* 410), *spirimenti* (*Gr. P.* 13), *pittiroso pētūs* + *rüssūm* 15, *appipito*;

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 208–15.

² Zs., IX, 529–30.

³ A. G., XII, 113.

⁴ *Raccolta*, 347.

⁵ A. G., XII, 144.

⁶ Mussafia, *Romg.*, 82.

⁷ Flechia, A. G., II, 11.

⁸ Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 16.

⁹ Flechia, A. G., X, 146–7.

¹⁰ Salvioni, *Dial. Mod.*, 105.

¹¹ Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 112, 115.

¹² D'Ovidio, A. G., IV, 156.

the prefix *de-* > *di-*: *discrivere* (*Al.* 16), *diliberato* (*I. P.* 98), *dilicato* (*Ricc.*, 63), *disidero* (*S. Fr.* 23), *dilicatezze* 52; the prefix *re-* > *ri-*: *riplicare* (*N.* 32), *ribillione* 152.

3. By dissimilation: *nicessità* (*S. Fr.* 21); the prefix *de-* > *di-*: *dicretali* (*Al.* 16), *dinnegare* 6; the prefix *re-* > *ri-*: *riverenzia* (*M.* 79).

4. *ex* < *is*: *isaminare* (*Al.* 43), *ismisurata* (*Ricc.*, 23), *isbandire* (*S.* 8), *isventolare* 92, *istravolto* *ěxtrā + vōlūtūm* (*N.* 2), *iscoprendo* 8, *ispaventosa* 10, *ismovere* 115; also *es* > *is*: *istate* *aestātēm* (*Gr. P.* 11), *istivali* *aestīvālēm* (*Due Lett.*, 13).

5. The atonic pronouns *me*, *te* > *mì*, *tì*, *sì* before *lo*, *la*, *ne*.¹ *sì ne* (*Al.* 21), *mì ne* 59, *mì lo* (*M.* 14), *mì la* 25, *mì l'* 23, *mì ne* 15, *mì n'* 17, *tì lo* 21, *tì le* 93, *sì la* 95, *mì la*, *tì lo*, *sì lo* (*Uso*, 678).

6. Special cases: *isopo* (*Al.* 10) and *convisatione* 38, where the *i* is under the influence of the *s*; *iguale* *aequālēm* (*Al.* 60), *sicundo* (*Ricc.*, 103, *dipoi* (*Cino*, 13), *biltate* 62, and *vintura* 424 are formed according to the regular Italian rule for the development of pretonic *e*; *ubbidienza* (*V. and M.* 144) is formed according to *ubbidire*, and *nissuno* (*N.-N.* 8) according to *niuno*.²—Cf. *Pop. Lat. Biates, diliberat, dilicatus, discrivere, disiderio, sicunda*, etc.;³—*Flor. biato Lam. di Cec.*, 4, *sipoltura* 29, *binigno Tancia*, 884, *appipito* 896, *cilimonie* 899, *nicistà* 921, *pricission* 925, *mimoria* 926, *dilibratì*, *nissun(o)* 945; *piggiorre Dec.*, I, 1, *migliore* I, 2; *mì n'andai Tes.*, 22; *mine passo Intell.*, 3;—*Sen. criatura, biato, Lionardo, riale, appipito, cimento, cirimonia, dinajo, disiderio, lunidì, mimoro, nicisità, pricissione, sicondo, sipoltura, spiciale, isbandire, iscoprire, iscusare, iscumunicare, ismontare, ispedire, istate, istimare*;⁴—*Luc. ghirone, ciaschiduno, vissica, iscire*;⁵—*Pis. issuto, vissica, sigondo, istate, finire, iscire*,⁶ *precissione C. Son.*, 36, *nissuno* 48;—*Aret. apitito, sirvito, sintire*;⁷ *Corton. priciso*

¹ This phenomenon is limited almost entirely to San Marcello.

² cf. § 3. (d) 1.

³ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 298–302, 382, 426.

⁴ *Zs.*, IX, 531, 533.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁶ *A. G.*, XII, 114.

⁷ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 35.

Racc., 258, *sirà* 259, *nicisserio* 260, *sirvità* 261, *binissimo* 262, *virità* 266;—*Gen. dinai* = *denari*, *firir*, *neccissitae*, *nigun nec uno*.¹

(e) *e > ie* is a prominent characteristic of old Pistoiese.

1. After a palatal cons.: *conciéduto* (*Al.* 20), *cielato* 37, *sacierdotale* (*Ap.* 5), *vincierà* 9, *comincierà* 17, *reggierà* 33, *vangielizzò* 43, *giacieranno* 45, *magiestà* 65, *piangieranno* 75, *disciendea* 85, *dacciello* 89, *velociemente* 95, *gienerazione* 97, *giendarmi* (*S. Fr.* 12); also in modern Pistoiese: *chiacchierone* (*Gr. P.* 20), *Gienerale*, *cieseraria* 21, *gieografia* 22, *sviscierato* 23.

2. *mielate* (*C.* 18), *sientiede* 43, *tenere* 106, and *vienere* 110 are formed by analogy with the stem-accented forms.—*Cf.* *Flor. vienuco C. Son.*, 27, *bieltate Intell.*, 132; *Prat. gieloso Crest.*, 95;—*Pis. vienuto C. Son.*, 19;—*Aret. gentile Guitone* 170, *ricievendo* 179;—*B. D'Ant. ciercando Zs.*, XV, 58, *ingieneroe*, *uccielletti* 61, *dolciemente* 62.

(f) *e > o*.

1. *e* (+ labial): *proveduto* (*Al.* 47), *adovenire* 54, *doventare* 54, n., *soppellire* *sëpëllire* (*I. P.* 461), *romanere* 476, n., *dopoi* (*MS.* 1444), *propotenzia* (*S.* 199).

2. Confounding of prefixes: *soddusse* *sübdücëre* instead of *sëdücëre*² (*I. P.* 476, n.), *protenzione*, *procetti* (*Gr. P.* 12), *projudicare*, *prosunzione*; perhaps also *soppellire*, *proveduto* and *propotenzia* of the preceding paragraph.

3. *oscire* *östjüm* + *ëxire* (*Al.* 65) is learned.—*Cf.* *Flor. soppellito Lam. di Cec.*, 35, *protenzione V. and M.*, 144, *sodusse Tes.*, 5;—*Sen. dovenire*, *doventare*, *dovoto*, *procendi*, *proferire*, *profetto përfëctüm*; ³—*Luc. soppellire*, *romase*, *dopende*, *ciometerio*.⁴

Apheresis.

'*saminamento* (*Al.* 48), '*scrudere* *ëxelüdëre* (*S.* 7), *Manuelle* 100, *strazione* 142, *quilibrio* 121, *resia* 123, '*state aestätëm* (*C.*

¹ *A. G.*, X, 147.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 534.

² Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 137.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 114.

103), *lemosina* (N. 200), *reda*, *sperto*.—Cf. Flor. 'siliato C. Son., 41, 'limosiniere 85;—Sen. *mendare*, *difizio*, *senpro* (exemplum) *spresso*,¹ 'resia C. Son., 44, 'Manuelle 77;—Luc. *spettare*, *state*, *scire* *exire*; ²—Pis. *stinguere*, *rede*, *spettare*, *scire* *exire*,³ 'Uropa C. Son., 21.

Syncope.

1. Between mute and liquid: *pricolo*, *considrate* (M. 52), *sprimmentare* (Uso, 935), *sparare*.

2. Between *s* + *r* in the Fut. and Cond. of the verb *essere*: *srò*, *srà*, *srei*, *sresti*, *srebbe*, etc.

3. *istu*⁴ = *se tu* (Al. 7).—Cf. Flor. *pricolosa* Tancia, 877, *sre'* 881, *delibrato* 908, *stu* 930;—Sen. *mercordì* C. Son., 91.

Epenthesis.

Between mute and liquid: *pigherizia*, *mìtera mītrām* (Gr. P. 22).

Metathesis.

presempio (M. 57), *suprestizione* (V. and M. 81).—Cf. Sen. *presempio* C. Son., 5;—Luc. *presempio* Uso, 751.

Post-tonic *e*.

(a) *e* remains in old Pistojesse.

1. In paroxytones: *diece* (J. 2), *lunge* (Cino, 67), *domane* (S. Fr. 28).

2. In proparoxytones: *gioven* (Cino, 83).—Cf. Sen. *gioven*,⁵—Luc. *domane* B. Luc., 72.

(b) *e* > *ie* after a palatal cons. This development is a strong characteristic of old Pistojesse and is also found in the modern language. Both elements of the diphthong are pronounced.⁶

1. In paroxytones: *lucie* (Al. 5), *pacie* 6, *dolcie* 7, *vocie* 13, *nuocie* 20, *dispiacie* 25, *radicie* 34, *leggie* lēgēm 46, *crocie* (B. 78), *fornacie* (Ap. 5), *falcie* 61, *meritricie* 69, *lungie* 75, *invecie*

¹ Zs., IX, 534.

⁴ Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 528.

² *Ibid.*, 125.

⁵ Zs., IX, 541.

³ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶ Also in the Lucchese. Cf. § 4. (d) 3. a, n.

(*Gr. P.* 15), *felicie* 67.—Cf. Flor. *diecie Crest.* 24, *pacie* 26; B. d'Ant. *dolcie Zs.*, XV, 51, *piacie* 62, *leggie* 63, *bocie* 70.

2. In proparoxytones: *cresciere* (*Al.* 35), *sempricie* 40, *calicie* 53, *angielo* (*Ap.* 7), *soduciene* sŭbdŭcere 11, *leggiere* (*Gr. P.* 20).

(c) $e > o$ in old Pistoiese.

1. In paroxytones.

a. Primary e : *puro* (*Al.* 67).

β. Secondary e : *tuo* < *tue* < *tu* (*non sai*) *Al.* 4, *piuo* < *piue* < *più* (*tosto*) 8, and *rendè* < *rendèe* < *rendè* (*lode*) are due to assimilation; ¹—*aveto* (*decto*) *Al.* 68.—Cf. Sen. *rendéo*, *cadéo*, *potéo*, *sedéo*, *vendéo*.²

2. In proparoxytones in modern Pistoiese: *ℓellora* hědčrām (*Gr. P.* 13).

Variants.

(a) $e > a$ in old Pistoiese.

1. In paroxytones: *adonqua* (*Al.* 51); *ina* < *ine* < *in* 43 where the a is out of secondary e .

2. In proparoxytones: *senacha* (*Al.* 7) by assimilation.—Cf. Flor. *dunqua Intell.*, 162;—Luc. *qualunqua B. Luc.*, 1, *quantunqua* 2, *chiunqua* 18;—Pad. *ancha*, *doncha*; ³—old Ven. *adonca*.⁴

(b) $e > i$ in proparoxytones.

1. In hiatus: *linia* (*Gr. P.* 21) by assimilation.

2. After a vowel: *preiti* (*Al.* 12) přěsbŭtěrŭm > *prevete* > *preete* > *preiti* by dissimilation.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *linia*, *tinia*, *vinia*; ⁵—Neapol. *prevete*.⁶

(c) $e > u$: *súguro* sŭbër + (*M.* 34) by assimilation.

Syncope.

povra Cino, 67 (in rhyme).—Cf. Flor. *povra Fiera*, 77 (not in rhyme);—Sen. *poro C. Son.*, 42.

¹ cf. my article on *tu > tue > tuo*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, cols. 97–99.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 254.

² *Zs.*, IX, 427.

⁵ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 437, 441–42.

³ Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 356.

Epenthesis.

Between mute + liquid: *maghero* (S. 7), *aghero* (C. 49), *pighero*.—*maghero* and *pighero* are found in other dialects.¹

Epithesis.

e used as an off-glide with oxytones is a strong Pistojesse characteristic; in fact the rule is almost constantly observed by the *contadini*.

1. *a + e*: *arae* (Al. 8), *fae* 10, *strae* 14, *tacerae* 15, *drae* 16, *potrae* 19, *giae* 31, *siae* 42, *viverrae* 53, *atrae* 57, *vendicarrae* 58, *aquae* 71, *strae* (J. 4), *parrae* 7, *sae* (M. 3), *anderae* (S. 34), *sarae* (C. 12), *hae* 27, *vae* 50, *lae* 78.

2. *e + e*: *ée* (Stor., 8), *mée* (S. 71), *potée*.

3. *i + e*: *lallie* (M. 8), *dïe*, *lunedïe*, *laquie* 51, *sïe*, *cuiè* (C. 9), *accosïe* 10, *cosïe*, *seppellïe* 20, *hïe* 21, *chïe* 39, *martedïe*, *marcoledïe* 81.

4. *o + e*: *altroe* (Al. 11), *lagrimoe* 20, *levoe*, *apeloe* 21, *cioe* 24, *peroe* 68, *amoe* (S. Fr. 21), *ririvoe* (M. 10), *androe* (S. 34), *soe*, *fermoe*, *imperoe* (C. 8), *arrioe*, *doe*, *addenteroe* 9, *scontroe*, *saroe* 10, *voe*, *covoe* 11, *andoe*, *foe*, *cavoe*, *noe* 18, *principioe* 19, *scramoe* 21, *lassoe* 24, *tiroe* 25, *dïroe* 27, *seccoe* 29, *montoe* 32, *garboe* 36, *comandoe* 37, *staroe* 42, *nentroe* 43, *menoe* 44, *tornoe* (N.-N. 521).

5. *u + e*: *tue* (Al. 4), *sue* sūsüm (C. 10), *giue* 14, *lassue* = *la + su* 19, *fue* 26, *piùe* 89.

6. *pere* (Cino, 51).—Cf. Flor. *lae*, *ée*, *piùe*, Lam. di Cec., 4, *tue Tancia*, 911, *giue C. Son.*, 7, *noe* 19, *cosie* 46, *Gesue* 50, *quae*, *lae* 55, *quie* 77, *fue Crest.*, 24, *de Intell.*, 138; Dante uses the epithetical *e* generally for the sake of the rhyme: *ee*, Inf. XXIV, 90, *sie*, Purg. XXVIII, 8, *sue*, Purg. XVI, 30;²—Sen. *colae*, *mee*, *cosïe*, *perde*, *giùe*, *cide*, *giàe*, *piùe*, *sue*, *chïe*, *tue*, *quie*, *hïe*, *cittàe*, *veritàe*, *necesitàe*, *volontàe*;³ also numer-

¹ Caix, *Dial. d'Ital.*, 126.

² Zehle, *Laut- und Flex.*, 24.

³ Zs., IX, 536.

ous verbs: *amðe, andðe, cercðe, fermðe, levðe*, etc.,¹ *anderðe, durðe, farae, potrae, doe, dae, foe, fae, soe, stoe, voe, vae*, etc.;¹—Luc. *ae B. Luc.*, 1, *quie* 2, *seguitrðe* 15, *farae* 27, *fue* 47, *porterðe, vorrðe* 55, *giue* 72, *noe, fae* 79, *stae* 87, *piue* 91, *serae* 92, *dirroe Racc.*, 253.

I.

§ 6. TONIC I.

(a) *i* in Pistoiese shows very few variations from the literary Italian.

(b) *i* remains: *si sī* (*S. Fr.* 8), *ditto dictūm*² (*C.* 19).

(c) *i* > *e*: *trēsti* (*M.* 95), *donzēna*³ *dōdīcīnā* by change of suffix.

(d) *i* > *iē*: *serviēvi* (*N.-N.* 4).

(e) *i* > *u*: *fubbe* or *fiubbe* (*M.* 24 and note), the vowel is assimilated to the labial consonant.—Cf. Ven. *fiuba*, Lomb. *fūbia*, O. Fr. *afubler*.⁴

§ 7. ATONIC I.

1. Pretonic *i*.

(a) *i* remains: *agevilez(z)a* (*Al.* 52), *licito* (*J.* 19), *nuviletta* (*S. Fr.* 8), *signato* (*MS.* 1444), *incora hinc + ōrām* (*Due Lett.*, 13); the *i* remains in the atonic pronouns *ci, vi* before *lo, la, ne*: *ci lo* (*M.* 40), *ci la* 75, *ci n' 5*, *vi lo* 20, *vi la* 97, *vi ne* 101.

(b) *i* > *e*.

There are many examples of this phenomenon in both old and modern Pistoiese. Meyer-Lübke⁵ says that the forms with pretonic *e* are under Umbrian-Aretino or Provençal influence.

¹ *Ibid.*, 427–8.

² I give *dictūm* according to Ascoli, *A. G.*, I, 23, and note 3; Körting, *Lat. Rom. Wb.*, 2558; Pieri., *A. G.*, XII, 109, gives *ditto* as formed upon *dissi*.

³ cf. Italian *dozzēna*, Canello, *A. G.*, VII, 319.

⁴ Caix, *Dial. d'Ital.*, 205.

⁵ *Ital. Gram.*, § 123.

1. By assimilation: *relegione* (*Al.* 6), *lecenza* 56.
2. By dissimilation: *inemica* (*Al.* 35), *rilegioso* 67, *openione* 71, *ipocresia* (*Ricc.*, 51), *omessione* (*I. P.* 86), *temitoso* (*M.* 88), *prencipi* 90, *letigio* (*C.* 21), *redicolo* (*Gr. P.* 23).
3. Special cases: *vertudie* (*Al.* 4), *vectoria* 51, *vetuperio* 77, *vertù* (*Cino*, 25), *vertudioso* (*M.* 78), *metragghie* (*S.* 112), *per-ruchieri pîlucârîum* (*N.* 230), *gennastia* (*Gr. P.* 45), *mesurare*; *in* = *en* (*em*): *entroni în + törnûm* (*M.* 23), *nempare împărăt* (*Gr. P.* 20).—Cf. *Pop. Lat. prencepe, prencipe*; ¹—*Flor. vertù*, *Intell.*, 134, *promession Decam.*, I, 1, *sempatia, C. Son.*, 35, *vecino*;—*Sen. fenire, rileggioso, trebuna, vettoria, enfermo, em-parare*, and many others; ²—*Luc. prencipio, fenire, perrucca*,³ *mesurai Racc.*, 252;—*Pis. minuto, bisogna, vertude*; ⁴—*Corton. ordeneto Racc.*, 259.

(c) *i* > *o*.

1. Before labial cons.: *obbriaco, ombuto* (*N.-N.* 16), *om-possibile, onfiare* (?) *C.* 85, *onferno* (?)

2. Before *l*:⁵ *baggiolare vacillare* or *vagillare*⁶ (*S.* 232), *ventolazione* 8.

3. Special cases: *Modonesi* (*I. P.* 301), formed on *Modona*; *oncenso* (*J.* 28) the pretonic *o* of which probably comes from the article *lo*?³—Cf. *Flor. dovise Tancia*, 877, *noboltà* 932;—*Sen. ombusto, ombuto, omperadore, omperio, oncenso, onferno, onterdetto*; ⁷—*Luc. fonire, ombuto, onferno*,⁸ *ompiccio Racc.*, 245, *ompossibile* 250;—*Tuscan ombuto, romasuglio*.⁸

Variants.

- (a) *i* > *a*: *arbatrato* (*Son. Pop.*, 43) and *sarvatico* are due to assimilation; *giangia gîngivă* (*S.* 7) under influence of the nasal consonant *n*.—Cf. *Flor. Modanesi, Sec. Rap.*, 4;—*Corton. antendere Racc.*, 259;—old Tuscan *salvaggio*.⁹

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 28, 54.

⁶ Caix, *Studi*, § 179.

² *Zs.*, IX, 539-40.

⁷ *Zs.*, IX, 540.

³ *A. G.*, XII, 114.

⁸ Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 123.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁹ Caix, *Origini*, 75.

⁵ Canello, *A. G.*, III, 335.

(b) $i > u$: *unutile* (*Gr. P.* 49) by assimilation; *buzzeffe* bis + ff (*S.* 235) influenced by the preceding labial consonant *b* and perhaps by the *u* in *due*; *vestuario*.—Cf. *Flor. vestuario*;¹—*Sen. purate, subillo, utilità*;²—*Luc. inutile* *Racc.*, 253;—*Pis. funire*,³ *sumiglia* *C. Son.*, 63;—*Aret. buzzeffe*.⁴

Apheresis.

(a) Before nasal + consonant.

1. After article or pronoun: *lo 'ntendimento* (*Al.* 5), *chi 'ngura*, *le 'ngure*, *la 'ngiuria* 8, *gli 'nvidiosi* 9, *lo 'nsegno*, *lo 'negno* 16, *lo 'ncominciamento* 18, *lo 'nduscio* 22, *la 'ncattiviscie* 30, *lo 'nferno* 35, *lo 'mperio* 41, *lo 'nprincipio*, *li 'ncominciamenti* 43, *che 'ntendea* 60, *lo 'mperadore* 73, *all' 'ncanto* (*M.* 30), *lo 'nsaccava* 54, *se 'ntoppiano* 63, *lo 'nteresse* 69, *lo 'nterpidi* 71, *lo 'mparò*, *della 'ndivia*, *vine 'ntendete* 101, *la 'ndulgenza* 106, *la 'mpamata* (*S.* 119), *la 'nserenata*, *la 'nvezata* 152, *la 'nnarzata* 210, *la 'mpromessa* 274, *'ghi 'ntraviense* (*C.* 8), *tene 'nteso* 9, *dallo 'ngrasso* 11, *lo 'mprumettiedi* 12, *loro 'nzino* 13, *uno 'n* 15, *lo 'nsacca* 17, *lo 'nvito*, *tene 'nfrattanto* 18, *lui 'mperoe*, *allo 'mprovviso* 19, *dello 'ngordo* 23, *'ghi 'ngolaa* 28, *io 'n*, *ti 'ncapocchire* 29.

2. After the words *e* and *a*: *e 'nduscie* (*Al.* 36), *e 'nffine* 76, *a 'nderinar* (*M.* 8), *a 'nnamorati* 14, *a 'ngorgar* 58, *a 'ntraversar* 74, *a 'nfustirsi* 76, *a 'ntormentire* (*S.* 28), *a 'ngrassa* (*C.* 10), *a 'ngoazzà* 14, *a 'ntende* 18.

3. After auxiliary verbs: *era 'ncoccio* (*M.* 30), *ava 'nzurlito* 46, *ha 'nsegni* (*S.* 3), *fussi 'nnamorata* 32, *sie 'ngiallito* 87, *fussi 'nchiostro* 151, *ha 'mpegnato* 266.

4. Special cases: *dei 'mframeclere* (*Al.* 3), *da 'mparare* 30, *ogna 'nduscio* 36, *soperbia 'ngenera* 50, *sappia 'nsinor* (*M.* 15), *naso 'nnun* 30, *coresto 'mbattina* 109, *pere 'mparare* (*S.* 27), *ritta 'ntostita* (*C.* 11), *accosìe 'nsino* 15, *foco 'ntra* 18.

(b) Before cons. + vow.: *magine* (*J.* 28), *talìa* (*Ricc.*, 24).—Cf. *Flor. e 'ntenda*, *Tancia*, 877, *ho 'nteso* 899, *lo 'ntoppo* 906,

¹ *Uso*, 1023.

² *Zs.*, IX, 540.

³ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁴ *Uso*, 192.

la 'nvilia 914, *chi 'mparò* 922, *lo 'nchino* 933, *lo 'nferno* *Intell.*, 167, *ànno 'nteso* 170, *è 'ntra* 148, *la 'nsegna* 168, *lo 'mbusto* 177, *Talia* 183, *la 'ntenzone* *Decam.*, I, 2, *lo 'ngegno*, I, 3, *lo 'nquisitore*, I, 6, *tutto 'ntero* *C. Son.*, 18, *lo 'nsegnuan* 28, *'taliano* 41, *la struzione* 42;—*Sen.* *lo 'ngegno*, *lo 'ntelletto*, *la 'nvidia*, *ho 'nteso*, *a 'nganni*, *ne 'ncresce*, *senza 'npaccio*; ¹—*Luc.* *uno 'nferno*, *la 'mpostura*, ² *lo 'ncontri* *Cant. Pop.*, 18;—*Pis.* *una 'nfamità*, *questo 'ncanto*, *Talia*, ³ *lo 'mpossibile*, *C. Son.*, 26, *tutto 'ntero* 35, *è 'nutile* 46, *uno 'gnorante* 47, *ho 'nteso* 88;—*Tuscan* *lo 'nperadore* *B. d'Ant.*, *Zs.*, XV, 56, *lo 'nbusto* 65, *ello 'ndugiare* 66;—*Neapol.* *mporta*, *npace*, ⁴ *nfaccia*, *ncapo*, *ngiuria*. ⁵

Prosthesis.

The popular Latin prosthetic *i* before *s* impurum appears in Pistoiese even when the preceding word ends in a vowel: ⁶ (*unde*) *iscrito* (*Al.* 34), (*divina*) *iscriptura* 35, (*e*) *isforzansi*, (*tuo*) *istato* 37, (*ogna*) *ispirito*, (*ria*) *isperanza* 38, (*sono*) *ischer-niti* 40, (*piùo*) *istrania* 41, (*sothi*) *istipulument'* 46, (*soperbia*) *iscenderà* 50, (*consilio*) *ispecialmente* 51, (*quali*) *istuo* 52, (*è*) *istabile*, (*fae*) *istolto* 58, (*potrasse*) *iscelere* 61, (*unde*) *isdegna* 62, (*nosso*) *iscudo* 66, (*motto*) *istudiare* 30, (*nello*) *istangnio* (*Ap.* 89), (*sua*) *iscenza* (*Al.* 68), (*vollio*) *ispoglare*, (*cose*) *iscure* 71, (*è*) *ispezia* 74, (*serà*) *iscandalizato* 76, *tanto ispretato* (*N.* 44), (*correva*) *istupita* 84, (*loro*) *istevano* 414, (*strippata*) *istasera* (*C.* 16).—Cf. *Pop. Lat.* *iscripta*, *ispirito*, *ispecies*, *istare*, *istabile*, etc. ⁷

Syncope.

In the loan ⁸ word *testimonanza* (*Al.* 71).

Epenthesis.

aguaito < Ger. *wahtên* (*Al.* 40), *abibisognio* (*Ap.* 17) by reduplication; *fiorte* 75, *nessiuna* (*S. Fr.* 21), *sciabbiosa* (*N.*

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 541.

² *A. G.*, XII, 125.

³ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁴ *N. Amer. Rev.*, 1832, p. 308.

⁵ *Collez. Napol.*, XXVIII, 7.

⁶ cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 144.

⁷ *Schuch.*, *Vokalismus*, II, 338, 342, 346.

⁸ cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 533, § 78.

154), *distribuzione* (*Gr. P.* 13), influenced by *distribuire*; *diotto* 24, *inghilese* 22 influenced by *Inghilterra*.—Cf. Provençal *aguaitar*.

Metathesis.

furigelli *filucellum* (*M.* 47), where the *u* is attracted to the initial syllable by the labial consonant *f*.

2. Post-tonic *i*.

(a) *i* remains in old Pistoiese.

1. In paroxytones: *forsi*, where the *i* remains on account of its proclitic position.

2. In proparoxytones.

a. Learned words ending in *-bīlīs*:¹ *nuvili*, *odievile*, *racionevile* (*Al.* 9), *chonvenevile* 14, *increscievile* 23, *abondevile* 32, *piacevili* 38, *inghannevili*, *usinghevili* 40, *agievile* 52, *innomerevili* 53, *onorevile* 70, *bisognevili* (*J.* 7), *fievile*, *debile* (*M.* 8, n.).

β. Special cases: *sindico* (*I. P.* 299), *solidi* (*MS.* 1444).—Cf. *Sen. onorevile*, *ragionevile*; ²—*Luc. personevile*, *bisognevile*, *onorevile*; ³—*Pis. convenevile*, *ragionevile*, *onorevile*.⁴

(b) *i* > *e* in proparoxytones: *nuveli* (*Al.* 50), *honorevele* (*Ricc.*, 54), *nobele*, *simele*, *utele*.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. nobelis*, *sterelis*, *nomene*, *ordene*; ⁵—*Sen. onorevele*, *mobele*, *simele*, *utele*, *ordene*; ²—*Pis. simele*, *omeni*; ⁶—*Corton. grandene Racc.*, 259, *subbeto* 260;—old *Venet. simele*, *nobele*; ⁷—*N. Ital. graveda*, *nuovelo*.⁸

(c) *i* > *ie*⁹ in paroxytones: *nascie*, *finiscie* (*Al.* 23), *conoscie* 25, *conducie* 29, *disdicie* 35, *istringie*, *digiungie* 45, *contradicie* 53, *crescie* 56, *vincie* (*Ap.* 11), *dicie* 17.—Cf. *Flor. dicie Crest.*, 24.

Variants.

(a) *i* > *a* in the proparoxytone *Modana* (*S.* 7) by assimilation.—Cf. *Flor. Modana, Sec. Rap.*, 4.

¹ cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 119.

² *Zs.*, IX, 541.

³ *A. G.*, XII, 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵ *Schuch., Vokalismus*, II, 14, 21-2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁷ *A. G.*, XII, 252.

⁸ *Mussafia, Beiträge*, 113.

⁹ cf. Post-tonic *e* > *ie*.

(b) $i > o$ in proparoxytones: *Modona* (*I. P.* 219) by assimilation, *possivole* (*C.* 37) by assimilation to the preceding labial consonant.—Cf. *Flor. utole Tancia*, 892, *nobol* 932, *possivol*, *Lam. di Cec.*, 2;—*Luc. Modona*, *possibole*.¹

Syncope.

(a) In hiatus.

1. Before *a*: the loan² words *ingiura* (*Al.* 5), *memora*, *pecuna* 63.

2. Before *e*: *spece* (*Gr. P.* 15), *superficie* 20.

3. Before *o*: *silenzio* (*Al.* 15), *ispazo* 23.

(b) Between consonants: *medesmo* (*Al.* 3).—Cf. *Flor. vitupero*, *impero*, *purgatoro Bocc.*, *lussura Intell.*; ²—*Sen. engiura*, *matera*, *stora*; ³—*Luc. medesmo*, *B. Luc.*, 81.

Epenthesis.

After *l*, *r*, *n*: *cuculio* (*S.* 8), *alia* 32, *premura* (*C.* 90), *usura*, *tribunia* (*Gr. P.* 16), *minia*, *miria* 17, *calibrio* 18.

Metathesis.

Post-tonic *i* in hiatus is attracted by the tonic syllable: *fiube* (*M.* 24), *sièda* (*C.* 100), *schioppo* (*N.* 22), *pianere*, *rispiarmo* (*Gr. P.* 13), *pianerino* 19, *stiuda* 21, *siero* 49.—Cf. *Flor. pianere*, *Lam. di Cec.*, 23, *sieda*;—*Sen. pianere*, *C. Son.*, 39, *stiuda Assetta*, 275;—*Luc. rispiarmo*, *sieda*, *stiuda*; ⁴—*Pis. rispiarmo*; ⁵—*Aret. rimiedo*.⁶

O.

§ 8. TONIC *o*.

(a) *o* remains.

1. In open syllable before labial cons.: *omero*, *giovane* by the side of *giòvane*.

¹ *A. G.*, XII, 115.

² cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 533, § 78.

Zs., IX, 542.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 126.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶ Billi, *Dial. Chian.* cf. Caix, *Dial. d'Ital.*, 195, n. 2.



2. In closed syllable: *adonqua*, (*Al.* 9), *lectora* 16, *nolla* *nüllam* (*rimproverane*) 32, where the translator was doubtless influenced by the non *improperat* of his original Latin text: *gionto* *jüctüm* (*Cino*, 35),¹ *aleona* *älëcünäm* 17 (in rhyme), *dönche* (*C.* 8), *ponto* *püctüm*.—Cf. Flor. *donche* *Lam. di Cec.*, 7;—Sen. *donque*,² *gionto*, *ponto*;³—Corton. *donqua* *Racc.*, 261;—Fr. *done*;—Span. *donques*.

(b) $\phi > \varphi$.

1. In open syllable before *r*: *loro* (*Gr. P.* 49), *ore*, *allora*, *ancora* 50.—Cf. Luc. *ora*, *allora*, *loro*, *costoro*, *coloro*;⁴—Pis. *ora*, *allora*, *loro*, *costoro*, *coloro*;⁵—Fr. *or*, *encor*, *lor*.⁶

2. In closed syllable.

a. Before *r* (+ cons.): *corto*, *giorno*.—Cf. Flor. *giorno*.

β. Before *l* (+ cons.): *volgo* (*Gr. P.* 47), *colla* 50, *volto*.

γ. Before *cc*: *mōscio* *müccidüm*,⁷ *mōccio*, *bocca*; secondary *cc*: *sciocco*.

(c) $o > u$.

1. In open syllable: *supra* (*Al.* 25), *devuto* 32, *du' dē* + *übi*, *induve* (*M.* 43), *nu'* = *noi*, *vu'* = *voi* (*S.* 118), *nun* (*N.* 1).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *nus*, *vus*.⁸

2. In closed syllable.

a. Before nasal (+ cons.): *Alfunso* (*Al.* 5), *prunto* 31, *unde*.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *funte*, *prunte*.⁹

β. Special cases: *amoruso* (*M.* 3, n.), *scussi* 29, *puppa*,¹⁰ *fussi* (*N.* 1).—Cf. Flor. *nui Tancia*, 926, *nun Racc.*, 278, *vu C. Son.*, 77;—Sen. *duve*, *nun*, *supra*, *unde*;¹¹—Luc. *duve*, *fussi*;¹²—Pis. *nun Racc.*, 291, *duve*, *fussi*.¹²

¹ Fernow, *Röm. Stud.*, III, 278.

² *Uso*, 351.

³ *Ibid.*, 633.

⁶ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, 146.

⁷ *Uso*, 606.

⁸ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 98.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 118–19.

¹⁰ *A. G.*, XII, 110.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 112.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

¹¹ *Zs.*, IX, 544–6.

¹² *Ibid.*, 142–3.

§ 9. TONIC *o*.(a) *o* remains.

1. In open syllable in learned words: *lenzolo* (S. 94), *magghiolo* mällëölüm 97, *solo* 140, *tono* 147, *ovo* 201, *bono* (C. 8), *fora*, *foco* 11, *fori*, *novo* 16, *cocere* 18, *core* 22, *logo* 24, *omini* 33, *sono* 35, *figliolo*, *omo* (N. 1), *vole*, *coce* 20, *coco* 29, *voto* 208, *sona* (Gr. P. 11), *trecioli* cītrīölüm, 12, *razziolo* 15, *scola* 33, *böi* 47.—Cf. Flor. *core*, *omo*, *bono*, *dole*, *sole* *Brunetto*; ¹ Dante has *loco*, *foco* in rhyme, *trovo*, ² *gioco*, *Tancia*, 904, *foco*, *omo*, *Intell.*, 138, *loco* 144, *schola* 146, *bono* 147, *novi* 150, *for* 153, *gioco* 201, *pò*, *coce*, *core* 204, *figliola* C. *Son.*, 17, *sore* 28;—Sen. *bono* C. *Son.*, 3, *sora*, *fora*, *vole* 7, *ovo* 8, *novo* 10, *domo* 95;—in West Lucchese only the forms in *o* are heard; ³—Pis. “Il dittongo dell’ *ó* è oggi costantemente ridotto nella città, ma resiste pur sempre in alcune parti della campagna;” ⁴—Sicil. *bönu*, *növu*, *röta*, *cöri*; ⁵—Pad. *bon*, *core*, *fora*, *homo*, *nova*. *pò* (pöst); ⁶—Gen. *omo*, *bona*, *sor* solet, *vol* vuole, *nova*, *fora*, *po* potest, *cor*, *sona*. ⁷

2. In closed syllable: *longo* (Cino), ⁸ *ogni*.—Cf. Luc. *longo* *Racc.*, 253;—Gen. *longo*. ⁹

(b) *o* > *u*.

1. In open syllable: *humo* (MS. 1330), *nuve* (MS. 1339), *luglio* lölrüm (S. 95), *ugna* (pure) = *bisogna* sönrüm 151.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *humo*. ¹⁰

2. In closed syllable: in *ugni* (N. 1) and *ugnum* (M. 95) the *o* is raised to the *u* by the *u* + *i*; *fursi* (M. 12) is unexplained. ¹¹ Is the *u* due to the following *i*?—Cf. Pop. Lat. *prursus*; ¹²—Flor. *ugni* *Lam. di Cec.*, 4;—Luc. *fursi*, *ugni*; ¹³—Pis. *fursi*, *ugni*; ¹⁴—Corton. *pu* pöst *Racc.*, 259.

¹ Zehle, *Laut-und Flex.*, 12, 13.² A. G., XII, 110.³ A. G., XII, 109.⁴ *Ibid.*, 142.⁵ Schneegans, *Sicil. Dial.*, 17.⁶ Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 12, 13.⁷ A. G., X, 145.⁸ Fernow, *Röm. Stud.*, III, 278.⁹ Mussafia, *Beiträge*, 114.¹⁰ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 134.¹¹ Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 65.¹² Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 123.¹³ A. G., XII, 110.¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 142.

(c) *o* in open syllable > *uo*: *rispuose* (*Al.* 4), *truono* (*J.* 26), *pruovo*, *truovo*.—Cf. *Sen. rispuose*;¹—*Luc. muodo*, *duodeci*;²—*Tuscan truova*, *puote*;³—*Pad. muð* (= *modo*), *nuovo*,—*uolo*, *cuofano*, *nuove* (< *növm*), *ruosa*, *cuorpo*, *muorto*, *puovero*;⁴—old Venet. *pruova*, *compuose*, *muodo*;⁵—*N. Ital. muodo*, *nuove*, *ruosa*.⁶

§ 10. ATONIC O.

1. Pretonic o.

(a) *o* > *a*.

1. Before *r*: *argollio* (*Al.* 8), *barbottare* *βόρβορος* + (*S.* 46) influenced by *barba*; ⁷ *scarpione* (*Gr. P.* 16).

2. Special cases: *canoscentha* (*Al.* 60), *accupare* (*S.* 8) is due to the confounding of the prepositions *ob* and *ad*, *Salamone* (*C.* 96) by assimilation.—Cf. *Flor. Attavione*, *Salamone*, *scarpione*,⁸ *Taniri* *Purg.* XII, 56, *ancidore* *Inf.* V, 61;—*Sen. scarpione*, *acconare*, *accasione*, *ac(c)upare*, *Salamone*;⁹—*Pis. calosso*, *Bartolomeo*;¹⁰—*Pad. hanore*, *canoscere*.¹¹

(b) *o* > *i*.

1. By assimilation: *giritondo*¹² *gȳr*[are] + *rotunda* (*M.* 77), *pricissione* (*S.* 7).

2. Special cases: *vilume* (*M.* 8, n.) is influenced by *viluppo*, *vilucchio*,¹³ *accomidare* (*S.* 8) is formed on *comido* = *comodo* by analogy with the many forms in *-ido*,¹⁴ *innunistante* (*N.* 33) where the *i* is probably prosthetic *i* before *s* impurum.¹⁵—Cf. *Flor. ignum Tancia*, 907, *pricission* 925;—*Aret. diminio*, *accomidare*,¹⁶—*Rom. accomidare*.¹⁷

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 542.

² *A. G.*, XII, 109.

³ *B. d'Antona*, *Zs.*, XV, 51.

⁴ *Wendriner*, *Pad. Mund.*, 13.

⁵ *A. G.*, III, 249–50.

⁶ *Mussafia*, *Beiträge*, 114.

⁷ *Körting*, *Lat.-Rom. Wb.*, 1286.

⁸ *Zs.*, IX, 547.

⁹ *Billi*, *Dial Chian.* cf. *Caix*, *Dial d'Ital.*, 195.

¹⁰ *Caix*, *Dial d'Ital.*, 205.

⁸ *Parodi*, *Romania*, XVIII, 601.

⁹ *Zs.*, IX, 547.

¹⁰ *A. G.*, XII, 145.

¹¹ *Wendriner*, *Pad. Mund.*, 20.

¹² cf. *Caix*, *Dial d'Ital.*, 195, n. 2.

¹³ *Mussafia*, *Beiträge*, 114.

¹⁴ *Parodi*, *Romania*, XVIII, 601.

(c) $o > u$.

This development of pretonic $o > u$ is a strong Pistojesse characteristic, particularly of the modern language.

1. In hiatus: in *Buemia* (I. P. 466) and *tuelette* (Gr. P. 15) the e raises the o to u .

2. u with following i .

(1.) Before labial cons.: *ubriaza* (Al. 65), *ubbrigoe* (C. 15), *ubbidienza* (V. and M. 188), *Uvidio* (Al. 54).

(2.) Before other cons. than labials: *ucchiello* (Uso, 1007), *udiato* (Al. 8), *ulivo*.

β . Other cases of u with following i .

(1.) Before l, m, n, r : *tavulini* (M. 31), *culizione* (C. 10), *culizionare* 13, *cultivazione* (N. 228), *inchuminciamenti* (Al. 11), *parturirà* 16, *sbaturlir* (M. 26).

(2.) Before other cons. than l, m, n, r : *puchino* (N. 228), *cucchieri* 320, *costudimento* (Gr. P. 12), *devuzione* (Son. Pop., 57).

(3.) u with following e .

α . Before labial cons.: *comprumetto* (C. 9), *mumento* 16, *imprumettere* 77, *mumentino* (Gr. P. 39), *Ruberto* (N. 42), *puvesia*, *puveta*, *puvetare* 91.

β . Before n : *muneta* (C. 41).

γ . Before r : *garanturerò* (M. 71), *curtelluccio* (C. 15), *curtello* (N.-N. 19).

δ . Before t : *prutestoe* (C. 36), *prutezione* 179.

4. u with following a .

α . Before liquids: *diavularie* (M. 8), *diavulaccio* 17, *propulaccio* 76, *crullare* (S. 8), *luntano* (Al. 42), *bronturar* (M. 68), *tremurar* 81.

β . Special cases: *cugnato* (Al. 16), *giucare* (M. 3, n.).

5. Special cases: *curruccio* (I. P. 487) and *nunustante* (Son. Pop., 57) are due to assimilation; *frugiuron* (M. 66), *spenzurone* 80.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *cugnata*, *muneta*; ¹—Flor. *munimento* *Intell.*, 198, *ulivo*, *ubbrigare*, *pulizia*, *Spuleto*, ²*mumento* C. Son., 9, *culizione* 17, *upinione* 30, *puctico* 33, *prugresso* 52;—Sen.

¹Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 127, 136. ²Parodi, *Romania*, XVIII, 601.

ammunire, amunizione, arbuscello, buttiga, buttino, co(n)pusizione, crullare, cumuno, cumunione, cuprire, munisterio, muneto, pulizia, spuleto, ubligare, up(p)inione, urechio,¹ prucissione C. Son., 70, mumento, ugnun Compon., 315;—Luc. cognato, pulenta, cureggia, Lunardo, muneta,² cucchieri Racc., 247, nunistante 253;—Pis. prutesta, muneta, mumento, fumento, cuscienza, unore, udorato, sumiglia, innucenzia, imprumessa, preputente, memuriale, capurale, piruletta, cognato, cunsegnare, Furli, menumare, accumiatate, ammunire;³—Corton. puduto Racc., 258, cugneta, pruvista 261, vussignuria 263, puchino, furestiero, scuiprire, puisie;⁴—Neapol. accusi, pueta, prufeta.⁵

(d.) *o > uo* by analogy with stem-accented forms: *rispuondendo* (*Al.* 24), *suonato* (*Gr. P.* 11), *scuolaro* 22.—*Cf.* *Flor. suonando Purg. X, 4, tuonar XV, 138⁶;—N. Ital. repuosare, aluogare, muolare.⁷*

Variants.

(a) *o* remains in the learned word *cocina* (*Gr. P.* 43).—*Cf.* *Sen. cocina.⁸*

(b) *o > e*: *interpidi* (*M.* 71); *precissione* (*Gr. P.* 11) is due to the confounding of prefixes.—*Cf.* *Pis. precissione C. Son., 36.*

Apheresis.

'bria ðblät (*Al.* 13), *gni, gnuno* (*Ricc., 30*), *immè = o(h)imè* (*V. and M.* 100), *ibò = oibò* (*Uso, 470*).—*Cf.* *Flor. gnun Tan- cia, 910;—Sen. 'gnuno C. Son., 8.*

Syncope.

disnore (*Al.* 43), *bainetta* Bayonne + (*S.* 8).—*Cf.* *Sen. disnore,⁸ bainette C. Son., 64.*

¹ *Zs., IX, 547.*

² *A. G., XII, 115.*

³ *A. G., XII, 145.*

⁴ *Caix, Dial. d' Ital., 123.*

⁵ *Collez. Napol., XXVIII, 5.*

⁶ *Zehle, Laut-und Flex., 30.*

⁷ *Mussafia, Breiträge, 114.*

⁸ *Zs., IX, 548.*

2. *Post-tonic o.*(a) $o > e$.1. In paroxytones: *quando* (*Gr. P.* 22) formed by analogy with *dove*, *donde*.2. In proparoxytones before *r*: *metafero* (*Gr. P.* 13), *fossifero* 14.(b) $o (+l) > u (+l, r)$ in proparoxytones: *diavulo* (*M.* 88), *nócciu* *nüččölüm* 4, *lucciuro* 9, *sdrucciuro* 29, *rossignuri* *lűscinűölä* 81.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. diavulo*.¹

Variants.

(a) *o* remains in the proparoxytone *lievore* *lěpörěm* (*Al.* 7).(b) $o > a$ in proparoxytones: *filosafo* (*C.* 72) influenced by *săpěre*; *atamo* (*Gr. P.* 14) by assimilation.—Cf. *Sen. filosafo*.²(c) $o > i$ in the proparoxytone *comido* (*C.* 64) formed by analogy with the many forms in *-ido*.³

Syncope.

dialo *dřäbölüm* (*Al.* 55).

Metathesis.

entroni (*M.* 22).

U

§ 11. TONIC *u*.*u* remains: (*un'*) *uncia* (*Gr. P.* 12), probably influenced by the article *un*, is the only example in Pistoiese where tonic *u* varies from the Italian.§ 12. ATONIC *u*.1. *Pretonic u.*(a) *u* remains.1. In hiatus: *ciuino* *sűinüm* (*Ner.*)⁴ *suave* (*S. Fr.* 60).¹Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 133.³cf. Parodi, *Romania*, XVIII, 601.²Zs., IX, 548.⁴Quoted by Caix, *Studi*, 289.

2. In learned and half-learned words.

a. Before labial cons.: *supradetta* (B. 83), *suprabunda* (S. Fr. 23), *puppare* (Uso 780), *summità* (S. Fr. 11).

β. Before liquids: *populazo* (Ricc., 32), *moltiplicare* (S. Fr. 27), *particolare* 52, *difficultà* (N. 181), *urviato* (Ricc., 25), *ratturbare* (C. 92), *currieri* (N. 14), *giocurare* (Uso, 437).

γ. Before *n*: *habundare*, *fundare* (S. Fr. 2), *circundata* 8.

δ. Before *s*: *circustantia* (S. Fr. 9), *cusì*.

ε. Special cases: *crucifisso* (J. 29), *scudella* (Gr. P. 12) formed on *scudo*.—Cf. Dante, who preserves the pretonic *u* before *l*: *maculato* Inf. I, 33, *canicolare* XXV, 10, *singulare* Purg. VIII, 67, *sepulcrare* XXI, 7, *articulare* XXV, 69; ¹—Sen. *scudella*, *manutenere*, *abundanza*, *voluntà*, *culhui*; ²—Luc. *ruvina*, *scudella*, *curtello*, *singulare*; ³—Pis. *scudella*, *curtello*, *populare*, *cusì*; ⁴—Corton. *cusì* Race., 263.

(b) *u* > *i* through *ü*; ⁵ that is *u* is fronted and then unrounded: *bigia* (Ap. 97); *bifonchiato* (M. 48) and *timore tūmōrēm* (C. 106) are due to dissimilation; ⁶ *manitengolo* 42.—Cf. Flor. *Ridolfo* Purg. VII, 94, *ognindì Tancia*, 936, *monimento* 955;—Sen. *rimore*, *giramento*, *gidicare*, *gignore* (*junioem*); ⁷—Luc. *piggello*, *dindolare*; ⁸—Pis. *nicciolo*.⁹

(c) *u* > *o* in old Pistoiese.

1. In hiatus: *perpetoale* (Al. 66), *continoamente* 72.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *perpetoali*.¹⁰

2. For pretonic *u* > *o* out of hiatus it is difficult to formulate a rule. Perhaps the cause of this development can be traced to the influence of the Umbrian-Aretino school: *soperbia* (Al. 9), *omana*, *otilitade*, *natorale*, *anonziano* 12, *prononziano* 13 by assimilation, *soficente* 15, *prodenza* 19 formed on *prode*, *adolterio* 34, *soccidere* 35, *innomerevili* 53, *ineobriato* 54, *ponire* 55, *vitoperio* 57, *oscire* 65, *istodiosamente* 70, *torri-*

¹ Zehle, *Laut-und Flex.*, 31.

² Zs., IX, 549.

³ A. G., XII, 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 191 foll.

⁶ Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 358.

⁷ Zs., IX, 549.

⁸ A. G., XII, 115.

⁹ A. G., XII, 146.

¹⁰ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 162.

bile tūs (tūris) + (J. 3), *dinonzare* 12, *sopportare* (I. P. 273) and *dobboletto* (M. 35) by assimilation, *nodrite* (Cino, 94), *occiso* 105; modern are *ainnosando* (M. 71), *gostasse* 91, *soppidiano* (S. 8), *costudimento* (Gr. P. 12), *omore*¹ by assimilation.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *homano*, *ponire*;²—Guittone d'Arezzo and his school: *ottulità*, *osaggio*, *storbare*, *gostando*, *soperbia*, *omiltà*, *soficiente*, *prodenza*, *sopporre*, *dobitoso*;³—Sen. *nodrire*, *onever-sità*, *omore*, *osanza*, *congiogale*, *forare*, *formento*, *robrica*, *soprire* (supplire), *stromento*, *totore* (tūtōrēm);⁴—Luc. *torbato*, *coscino*, *Nonziata*, *oncino*;⁵—Pis. *scoltino*, *morella*, *usorieri*, *torbato*, *oncino*.⁶

Variants.

u > *e* before *r*: *teribule* tūs (tūris) + (Ap. 33), *userajo* ūsūrārīŭm (S. 8) by dissimilation.—Cf. Sen. *teribilo*.⁷

Apheresis.

'*n* = *uno* (Son. Pop., 43), '*na* = *una* 55, '*niversale* 43. In '*n* and '*na* the tonic *u* becomes pretonic before it is cut off by apheresis.—Cf. Flor. '*n*, '*na*;—Sen. '*na* C. Son., 13, '*Golino* 41;—Luc. '*na* Can. Pop., 19;—Pis. '*Golino* C. Son., 23, '*na* 85.

Syncope.

After *q*: *catrino* (C. 36), *ligori* (Gr. P. 43).—Cf. Flor. *chistione* C. Son., 40.

2. Post-tonic *u*.

(a) *u* remains in proparoxytones.

1. Before *l*: *teribule* tūs (tūris) + (Ap. 33), *populo* (S. Fr. 40), *seculo* 51.

2. Before *l* > *r*: *bruscuro* bŭxŭlŭm (M. 3), *pisuro* 7, *roturo* 25, *scarrabatturi* 31, *cioture* German. schutt + ŭlŭm 37, *trot-*

¹ Fernow, *Röm. Stud.*, III, 274.

² Schuch., *Vokalismus*, II, 182, 186.

³ Caix, *Origini*, 95; Zehle, *Laut und Flex.*, 32.

⁴ Zs., IX, 548-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵ A. G. XII, 115.

⁷ cf. pt > ct, § 16, 2.

tura, *fignuro* German. *finne* + *ülüm* 42, *spiguro* 43, *brocuri* 53, *ventricuro* 56, *pillura*, *rozzura*, *moccuro* *Uso*, 639.—Cf. *Flor. maculo* *Lam. di Cec.*, 8, *popul Intell.*, 200 ;—*Luc. pil-lura*, *becuro*, *pentura*, *tomburo*, *populo*, *tabernaculo*, *turibulo*;¹—*populo*, *turibulo*.²

AU

§ 13. TONIC AU.

au (generally secondary) remains in old Pistojesse: *paraula* (*Al.* 3), *paulo* 21, *laudi* 22, *diaula* 48, *imparaule* (*J.* 16), *taula* 24, *auro*, *tesauro* (*Cino*, 424).—Cf. *Flor. auro Intell.*, 132 ;—*Luc. aulo*, *paraula*, *taula*, *diaulo*, *fraula*, *miraulo*, *Paulo*;³—*Pis. naulo*, *raula*, *taula*, *caulo*, *Paulo*.⁴

Variants.

(a) *au* > *u*; that is the *a* is rounded by assimilation to the *u* and then *uu* is reduced to *u*: *u aut* (*Al.* 7).

(b) *au* > *uo*: *può paucum* (*Gr. P.* 40).

§ 14. ATONIC AU.

1. Pretonic *au*.

(a) *au* > *a*: in old Pistojesse: *atorità* (*Al.* 53), *aricalco* (*J.* 24).

(b) *au* > *o*: *odierae* (*Al.* 36), *osingatori* 39, *ogosto* (*Ricc.*, 3), by assimilation, *odito* (*Cino*, 72), *orologio* = *lauro* + *regio* (*V. and M.* 21).—Cf. *Luc. Ogosto B. Luc.*, 16.

¹ *A. G.*, XII, 115.

² *Ibid.*, 146.

³ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 143.

CONSONANTS.

A. LABIALS.

P

§ 15. INITIAL P.

Variants.

- (a) $p > c$: *cicco* = *piccolo* (*M.* 28) by assimilation.
 (b) $p > f$: *fermanenza* (*Gr. P.* 18), probably *permanenza* + *fermare*, (*fà*) *foo* = *poco* (*Son. Pop.*, 43) by assimilation.

§ 16. MEDIAL P.

1. Intervocalic *p*.

$p > pp$: *sappiente* (*M.* 6), (*co'*) *ppiè* 53, *doppo* (*C.* 11), *trap-pocho* (*Gr. P.* 25).—Cf. *Sen. pappa, doppo*, *G(igli)*, *V(ocabolario Cateriniano)*, remarks: “Doppo scrisse la Santa (Caterina), e tutti i Sanesi, ed i Lucchesi, ed i Pisani, ed i Pistojesi, ed gli Aretini.”¹

Variants.

- (a) *p* remains: *apo* apud (*Al.* 16).
 (b) $p > b$: *abis* *lăpīs* (*Gr. P.* 11).

2. *p* before a consonant.

$p(+t) > c(+t)$ in old Pistojesse by analogy with the numerous Latin words in *et* as *dīctūm*, etc.: *corrocto cōrrūptūm* (*Al.* 8), *achacta ādcāptūm*, *scricto* 12, *iscriptura*, *incactiviscie* 30, *sectembre* 71.

Variants.

- (a) $p(+t)$ remains: *scripto* (*Al.* 7).—Cf. *Pis. scripto Crest.*, 166.

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 566.

(b) $p(+r) > b(+r)$: *abrile* (Al. 74), *ginebro* jūnīp'rūs (Gr. P. 14).

Syncope.

(a) Intervocalic p : *piolare* pīpīlāre (C. 89) by dissimilation.

(b) Before t : *iscrito* (Al. 14), *Batista* (J. 16), *setanta* (Gr. P. 12).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *otime*, *Setembres*, *setimo*.¹

PP

§ 17. MEDIAL PP.

1. Intervocalic *pp*.

$pp > p$ in old Pistoiese: *aparechia* āppāricūlāre (Al. 12), *apuntato* (Ap. 7), *aporrà* 99.

2. *pp* before a consonant.

$pp + r > pr$: *apresso* (Al. 9), *aprossima* (Ap. 97).

B

§ 18. INITIAL B.

Variants.

(a) $b > f$: *forbotta* (C. 11) by dissimilation.

(b) $b > m$: *migna* by the assimilation of the oral labial to the nasal labial.

§ 19. MEDIAL B.

1. Intervocalic *b*.

(a) $b > bb$: *abbominazione* (Ap. 71), *rubrato* (N. 115), *scabelli* (M. 31), *dobboletto* 35, *robba* (S. 10), *libbera* (C. 9), *subbito* 12, (*quī*) *bbambino* (Gr. P. 23), *subbitana* 24, *sabbato* 35.—Cf. Sen. *robba*, *robbare*,² *subbito* C. Son., 8;—Luc. *debbito*, *nobbile*; ³—Pis. *libbero*, *subbito*, *dubbitare*.⁴

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 143-4.

³ A. G., XII, 124.

² Zs., IX, 566.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 152.

(b) $b > g$ probably under Etruscan influence: *lagorare* (S. 93), *nugole nūbīlēm* (C. 22), *lagoro*.—Cf. Flor. *lagorare Tancia*, 875, *lagorīo* 877, *lagoro* 926;—Sen. *lagorare*, *lagorīo*, *diagol dīābōlūm*.¹

Variants.

(a) b remains in old Pistojesse: *dubio* (Al. 5), *debono* (J. 1), *obedire* 15.

(b) $b > sc$: *diascolio* (C. 43), *diascolo*.—Cf. Flor. *diascolo Tancia*, 876.

(c) $b > v$: *possivole* (C. 37).

(d) $b > vv$: *avvorto ābōrtūm* (M. 46).

2. b after a consonant.

$m + b > mm$: *incommensa cūmbēre* + (Gr. P. 17).—Cf. Luc. *incommensa*, *incammo* = *in* + *cambio*.²

3. b before a consonant.

Variants.

(a) Before r .

1. b remains: *labra* (Al. 3), *febraio* (Ricc., 34), *fabrica* (Gr. P. 43).

2. $b > bb$: *libbro*, *libbra* (Gr. P. 11).

3. $b > p$: *Ottopre* (Gr. P. 11).

4. $b > r$ by assimilation: *Ferrago* (S. 76).

5. $b > v$: *livre librām* (J. 2), *livra* (J. 2, n.).—Cf. Sen. *livro librum*, *livra*;²—Pis. *livra*, *ottorre*.³

(b) $b(+s)$ remains: *observare* (Al. 13).

(c) $b(+t) > c(+t)$ in old Pistojesse by analogy with the many Latin forms in *ct* as *dīctūm*, etc.:⁴ *socto subtus* (Al. 4), *soctilmente* 13, *soctile* 27, *asoctialiamento* 31.—Cf. Luc. *socto* B. Luc., 5.

Zs., IX, 566.

²A. G., XII, 124.

³*Ibid.*, 152.

⁴cf. *pt > ct*, § 16, 2.



Syncope.

- (a) Intervocalic *b*: *altroe* älītēr + ūbī (*Al.* 5), *diaula* 48.
 (b) Before a consonant: *oservare* (*Al.* 46), *solevò* (*Ap.* 79), *Feraio* (*Rice.*, 60).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *Feraras* (= *Februarias*).¹

Epenthesis.

After *m* the voiced labial *b* is introduced as a glide in modern Pistoiese: *stombaco* (*M.* 6), *rigombitò* = *vomitò* 8, *ombè* 16, *stombachini* 47, *camberata* 72, *sembola* (*C.* 17), *cambera* 21, *rembolare* rēmōrāre (*N.* 76), *sembolino*, *gombiti*, *prezzembolo* (secondary *m*) pētrōsētīnōn, *coombero* cūcūmērēm (*Gr. P.* 12).—Cf. Flor. *ombè Tancia*, 879;—Luc. *cambera*, *coombaro*, *tomburo*, *sembola*, *gombito*, *stombaco*; ²—Pis. *cambera*, *coombero*, *sembola*, *gombito*, *stombaco*; ³—Aret. *fiamba*, *sembola*; ⁴—Ladini *stombec*.⁴

BB

§ 20. MEDIAL BB.

1. Intervocalic *bb*.

Variant.

bb > *b*: *babo* bābūm (*Gr. P.* 21).

F

§ 21. MEDIAL F.

1. Intervocalic *f*.

f > *ff* only after the conjunctions *e*, *che*, the prepositions *a*, *da* and the article *la*: *effine* = *e* + *fine* (*Ap.* 5), *eff'a'* 9, *effugli* 25, *effortezza* 31, *effu* 35, *effedeli* 73, *effano* 75, *cheffecie* 59, *afformichare* 11, *affinire*, *daffare* (*Gr. P.* 40), *laffemmina* (*Ap.* 71).—Cf. Aret. *a ffine*, *a ffare Crest.*, 176, *e ffa*, *a fforza* 179.

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 128; III, 64.

³ *Ibid.*, 150.

² *A. G.*, XII, 120.

⁴ Ascoli, *A. G.*, I, 308, n. 2.

2. *f* after a consonant.

Variants.

(*n* +) *f* > (*n*) + *ff*: 'nffine (*Al.* 76).

Prosthesis.

fazione = *fare* + *azione* (*Gr. P.* 18).

FF

§ 22. MEDIAL FF.

1. Intervocalic *ff*.

ff > *f*: *oficio* (*Al.* 21), *dificile* (*Ricc.*, 29), *difiultà* (*Gr. P.* 15), *afezionata* 21.

2. *ff* before a consonant.

(a) *ff*(+ *r*) > *f*(+ *r*): *ofrivano* (*Gr. P.* 22).

V

§ 23. INITIAL V.

(a) *v* > *b*: *bomitare* (*Ap.* 17), *bocie* = *voce* 19, *bassogliate* *vāsōrīūm* + (*M.* 43), *boto*.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *bia*, *bice*, *benisti*;¹—*Flor. boce*;—*Sen. boce, bociare, boto*.²

(b) *v* > *g*; that is *b* becomes bilabial and is then backed under Etruscan influence: *golaa*, *golatina*, *gorpe* = *volpe* (*C.* 10).—Cf. *Sen. golpe, golare, golo*.

§ 24. MEDIAL V.

1. Intervocalic *v*.

Variants.

(a) *v* remains: *pavura* (*C.* 9).

(b) *v* > *vv*: *provveggo* (*M.* 54), *intravvenuto* (*N.* 31).

(c) *v* > *b*: *eba* (*Al.* 26).

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 75.

² *Zs.*, IX, 567.

(d) $v > g$: *rigomitò* (*M.* 8).

(e) $v + i > bi$: *gabie găvăă* (*Gr. P.* 43).

2. *v* before a consonant.

(a) $v (+ t) > p (+ t)$: *ciptadella* (*Ricc.*, 10), *ciptadino* 11, *cipta* 27.

Syncope.

Intervocalic *v* in modern Pistoiese: (*la*) *'ogghio* (*S.* 7), *arriare* 11, *rimbère*, (*ti*) *éggo* 32, *riende* 80, *Liorno* 92, *ciilino* 96, *Ciitaecchia*, (*ci*) *'engo* 104, *ulio* 106, (*di*) *'edere* 122, *diino* 151, (*prendera*) *'ista* 152, *gioentù* 159, (*la*) *'ostra* 205, *Serralle* 231, *traerso*, *proerbio* (*C.* 8), *cattio*, *brao* 9, *lea*, *diénto* 15, *gioane*, *caati* 18, *gioanino*, *ciétta*, *leatico*, *taola* 19, *taolino* 29, *gioanotto* 36, *dierto* 40, *incattiita* 43, *rinciilita* 44, and in the old language *fao* (*Al.* 15); secondary *v*: *aére* (*S.* 20), *póero* 29, *caallo* 30, *toaggia* Germanic *þwahlja* 58, *aanzo* 116, *laorare* 128, *seriano*, *troare* 151, *beanda* *bibändä* 153, *laoro* (*C.* 22), *auta*, *addoe* 26, *beer* *bibère* 27, *caulluccio* 32, *goerno* 33, *scriere* (*S.* and *C.* 21).—Cf. *Flor. auto Tancia*, 936, (*ci*) *'orrebbe* *C. Son.*, 6, (*potessi*) *'enire*, (*si*) *'ede* 7, (*ha*) *'isto*, *troallo* 10, (*una*) *'orta* 13, *dientare* 14, *leäre* 15, *goerno* 41, *brao* 44, *taola* 77, *spiouto* *Racc.*, 280, *ceaolo* 282, *quiggione*, *riceere* 284;—*Sen. bree*, (*naso*) *'ole* *C. Son.*, 7, *auto* 16, *poero* 26;—*Luc. auto*, *beuto*, *riceuto*, *attroe*;¹—*Pis. auto*, *beuto*, *riceuto*, *piouto*, *altroe*.²

Epenthesis.

Intervocalic *v*: *Pavolo* (*Gr. P.* 46); under the influence of the labial vowel *o*, intervocalic *v* is intercalated in order to break hiatus.

W

§ 25. INITIAL W.

Variants.

(a) $w > b$: *bidalesco* German. *widerrist* (*M.* 41).

¹ *A. G.*, XII, 119.

² *Ibid.*, 148–9.

(b) $w > g'$: *giangie* O. H. G. *wankja* (*Gr. P.* 14), by assimilation.

(c) $w > v$: *verra* German. *wërra* (*Al.* 68).

B. DENTALS.

T

§ 26. INITIAL T.

Variants.

1. Simple initial.

$t > ch (= k)$ through *tj*: *chiepido* (*M.* 58), *chienire* (*Gr. P.* 37) < *tienire* < *tënëre*.

2. Initial group.

$t(+r) > f(+r)$: *fracchienere* (*C.* 28).

§ 27. MEDIAL T.

1. Intervocalic t.

(a) $t > tt$ after *a*, *che*: *atte* = *a + te* (*Ap.* 9), *attestimoniare* 97, *chettu*, *chettiene* 7, *chetteme* 81; also *eterno* 59, *mattutina* 13, *etta* (*Ricc.*, 44), (*sia*) *ttopi* (*M.* 34), *anedotto* *an-éc-doton* (*Gr. P.* 47).—Cf. *Luc. acchitto*, *cottone*, *tittolo*; ¹—*Pis. cottono*, *uttilidade*, *Protonotaio*, *Mattelda*, ²*regalatta*, *pagatta*, *compratta*, *usatta* *C. Son.*, 59.

(b) $t > d$.

1. In the terminations *-ate*, *-ute*, *-tore* in old Pistojesse: *generalidade*, *oscuridade* (*Al.* 3), *volontade*, *amistade* 4, *veridade*, *fidelidade*, *vanidade* 7, *malvascitate* 8, *nequitade* 9, *otilitade*, *crudelitadi* 12, *quantidade* 13, *qualidade* 14, *sanidade* 15, *adversidade* 19, *difficoltade* 23, *onestade*, *bontade* 25, *humanidade*, *somitade* 31, *voluttade*, *infermitade* 35, *necessidade* 36, *iniquitade* 50, *possibilitade* 52, *autoritadi* 59, *povertade*, *parentadi*

¹ *Ibid.*, 123.

² *Ibid.*, 151.

61, *libertade*, *mendicitade* 62, *cittade* 64, *benignitade* 69, *santade* 71, *nimistade* 74, *creditade* (*B.* 81), *nativitade* (*J.* 1), *etade*, *podestade* 2, *solennitade* 5, *universitade* 7, *metade* 9, *festivitade* 10, *proprietade* 16, *nuditade* (*Ap.* 17), *chiaritade* 91; *vertude* (*Al.* 57), *servitude* 66; *servidore* 5, *inperidore* 53. In Albertano there are only two forms in which the termination *-ate* is preserved: *utilitate* 47, *cupiditate* 71, while the preservation of *-tore* is the rule: *difenditore* 12, *uditore* 14, *lusingatore* 21, *gridatore* 25, etc.

2. Special cases: *privadi* (*Al.* 21), *rachidine* Grk. *παχίτις* (*Gr. P.* 14), *podere*.—Cf. Flor. *volontade* *Crest.*, 20; “Die Endungen der Substantiva auf *-ate*, *-ute*, welche bei den ältesten Dichtern fast ausschliesslich gesetzt werden—höchst selten sind *-ade*, *-ude*—haben bei Dante ebenso häufig *-ade*, *-ude* neben sich, sowohl im Reim wie in der Mitte des Verses. Auch Brunetto hat beide Formen.”¹ *imperadore* *Inf.* I, 134;—*Sen. fadiga*, *amministradore*, *staduto*, *mudande*, *podere*, *privado*;²—*Luc. fedeltade* *B. Luc.*, 3, *voluntade* 18, *podestade*, *meitade*, *dignitade* 32, *comunitade* 34, *utilitade* 61, *quantitade* 70, *cittade* 74, etc.;—*Pis. utilitade*,³ *servidore* *Crest.*, 58;—*Canzon. ital. podestade*, *eitade*, *sanitade*, *aversitade*, *onestade*, *utilitade*, *amistade*, *gioventade*, *chastitade*, *bonitade*, *pietade*, *charitade*, by the side of the forms in *-ate*, etc. Also *amadore*, *galiadore*, *validore*, *rappidor*, *miradore*, *partadore*, *speradore*, by the side of *vengiatore*, etc.⁴

(c) *t > th* (*þ*) regularly in modern Pistojesse; the development occurs more frequently after the accent than before it.

1. After the accent.

a. 5 Pres. Indicative and Imperative: *fathemi*, *dathemi*, *scusathemi*, *stathe*, *parlathe*, *siethe*, *vedethe*, *credethe*, *dithe*, *sentithe*, *venithe*, etc.

β. Perf. Participle: *datho*, *statho*, *natho*, *amatho*, *portatho*, *pagatho*, *tentatho*, *scusatho*, *mostratho*, *adoperatho*, *autho*, *sapu-*

¹ Zehle, *Laut- und Flex.*, 53.

² Zs., IX, 560.

³ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁴ Caix, *Origini*, 155–6.

tho, *perduto*, *itho*, *sortitho*, *capitho*, *sentitho*, *venitho*, *finitho*, *salitho*, etc.

γ. Other cases: *pothere*, *ripethere*, *vitha*, *giornathe*, *mutho*, *consuetho*, and in the old language *popolatho* (*Al.* 58).

2. Before the accent: *patherno*, *pothea*, *compathire*, (*egghi*) *thornava*, *dubithò*, *piethà*, *pathibolo*, (*che*) *thiene*, (*la*) *therra*, (*la*) *thesta*, *muthamento*, and in the old language *catholica* (*Al.* 66).—

In the Florentine dialect intervocalic *t* after the accent becomes *ch* (written in *Uso ch*, in *C. Son.* *c*, before *a*, *o*, and *ch* before *e*, but pronounced open *ch*). Examples from *Uso*: *Pilacho*, *restacha*, *vedeche*, *sieche*, *ache*, *entracho*, *aspettache*, *dareche*, *voissucho* = *volsuto*, *pedache*, *veniche* 206, *voleche*, *potucho*, *siache*, *peccacho* 207, *facciacha*, *parlacho*, *diche*, *nottache*, *usacho*, *ripetuchio* 208, etc. Examples from *C. Son.*: *finico* 19, *scappaca*, *procuraco*, *stampaco*, *proibica*, *studiaco* 20, *giornaca*, *guadagnaca*, *disgraziaca*, *sudaco* 22, *staco* 29, *sentico*, *portaco* 30, *nottache*, *giulebbache*, *sonache* 33, *daco*, *citaco*, *sieche* 36, etc.

Variants.

(a) *t* > *ct*: *tictolo* (*Al.* 4).

(b) *t* > *gg'*: *meggia mētā* (*C.* 8).

(c) *t* > *r*: *coresto eccu + tibi + istum* (*M.* 11).

t + *î*.

(a) *t* (+ *î*) remains in old Pistojesse: *gratia* (*Al.* 3), *ispositione* 5, *genneratione*, *gratiosa* 8, *malitia* 11, *amicitia* 12, *giustitia* 15, *tristitia* 20, *pretioso* 27, *avaritia* 34, *malitiosi*, *convisatione* 38, *liberatione* (*J.* 9), *pretio* 11, *amonitione*, *reparatione* 15, *operationi* 17, *tribulationi* (*Ricc.*, 1), *ufitiali* 16, *devotione* 23, *venitiani* 24, *tristitia* 51, *tribulationi* 57, *laudatia* (*Ap.* 5), *sagrifitii* 11, *tentatione* 15, *beneditione* 21, *orationi*, *natione* 23, *intossichationi*, *fornicationi* 41, *dannatione*, *bordellatione* 69, *abominatione*, *amiratione* 71, *dilitie* 75, *giustificazioni* 81, *gratiosamente* 89, *difitio* 93.—Cf. *Luc. restitutione B. Luc.*, 2, *condizione* 6, *spetiale*, *petitione*, *gratia* 15, *inquisitione*

23, *comparitione* 29, *generatione* 48, *distributione* 54, *examinatione* 91, *emendatione*, *probatione* 101, *diffinitione* 102;—Canzon. ital. *conditione*, *pretioso*, *vitio*, *gratia*, *iustitia*, *karitia*, *dovitia*, *rationale*.¹

(b) $t(+i) > sc(+i) = \check{s}$ in old Pistoiese: *rascione* (*Al.* 4), *induscio*, *dispreciare* 6, *malvasciamente*, *malvascitadi* 8, *malvascio* 11, *serviscio* 12, *diliberascione* 23.—Cf. Flor. *rascione* *Crest.*, 20;—Sen. *condan(n)ascione*, *denunziascione*, *rascione*, *serviscio*;²—Pis. *prescio*, *rascione* *Crest.*, 167;—Canzon. ital. *prescio*, *rascione*.³

(c) $t(+i) > z(=ts)$ in old Pistoiese; this development takes place principally with the suffix -*itā*: *aspreze* (*Al.* 7), *caldeze* 10, *dolceza* 15, *vechieza* 16, *ricchezza*, *grandezza* 22, *dimesticheza* 49, *agevileza* 52, *stolteza* 58, *allegreza*, *gentileza* 61, *macteza* 68, *largheza* 69, *forteza* (*Ricc.*, 10), *belleza*, *dispreza* 45; also modern *maza* *mat(t)ēa* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. Aret. *vagheza*, *graveza*, *gienteleza*, *belleza*, *richeza* *Crest.*, 174, *allegreza* 175, *alteza* 180.

(d) $t(+i) > zz(+i) = tsi$ in modern Pistoiese: *prezzio* (*N.* 205), *ringrazzi* (*Gr. P.* 20), *grazzia*, *disgrazzie*, *ozzio* 21, *pastorizzia*, *vizzi* 22, *nazzioni*, *pazziensa*, *condizione* 21.

Variants.

(a) $t(i) > \check{c}$: *ispreciando* (*Al.* 22).

(b) $t(+i) > c(=k)$: *incumincare* (*Al.* 68).

(c) $t(+i) > th(p)$: *grathia* (*Al.* 16), *impathe* 19, *riccetha* 62.

(d) $t(+i) > sc(sk)$: *rascone* (*Al.* 64), *indusco* 68, *dispresca* 69, *'nduscare* 70.

(e) $t(+i) > sg(+i) = \check{z}$: *rasgione* (*J.* 5).—Cf. Prat. *rasgione* *Crest.*, 95;—Pis. *stasgione* 58;—Aret. *rasgione* 168.

(f) $t(+i) > ct(+i)$: *discretione* (*Al.* 4).

2. *t* after a consonant.

(a) $(s+)t > (s+)ch(=k')$: *foraschiero* (*C.* 35), *meschieri*, *aschero* (*Gr. P.* 17).

¹ *Ibid.*, 157–8.

² *Zs.*, IX, 561.

³ *Caix*, *Origini*, 160.

(b) $(s +)t(+r) > ss$ by assimilation: *nosso, vosso* (*M.* 32), *mossato* (*M.* 32, n.).

(c) $(c +)t(+\dot{i})$ remains: *indictione* (*Al.* 16), *subiectione* 75, *electione* (*J.* 2), *factione* 6.—Cf. *Luc. exactione B. Luc.*, 18, *detractione* 61;—*Pis. benedictione Crest.*, 166.

(d) $(n +)t(+\dot{i})$ remains in old Pistojesse: *pronontiare* (*Al.* 13), *dinontiatà* 67, *licentia* (*B.* 77), *conscientia* (*J.* 3), *reverentia* 5, *mentione* 11, *loquentia* (*Ricc.*, 44), *potentia* 30, *presentia* 51, *patientia* (*Ap.* 5), *silentio* 33, *assentio* 35, *mercantie* 75.—Cf. *Luc. licentia B. Luc.*, 9, *credentia*, *dinontiare* 12, *sententia* 13, *mercantia* 16, *stantiato* 19, *antiani* 104, *presentia* 113;—*Pis. presentia Crest.*, 166, *mercantia*; ¹—*Aret. sapientia Crest.*, 175.

(e) $(n +)t(+\dot{i}) > (n +)th$ (p) in old Pistojesse: *anthi* (*Al.* 3), *usanthi*, *sapientha* 11, *prudenth^a*, *canoscenth^a* 47.—Cf. *Luc. dinanthi, innanthi B. Luc.*, 12.

(f) $(n +)t(+\dot{i}) > (n) + s$: *Firense* (*Gr. P.* 12), *mancansa* 19, *scensa, coscensa* 20, *pazziensa* 21, *indigensa* 44, *innansi* 67.—Cf. *Sen. benivolensa, cominsare, Fiorense, dinansi, senza, stansa*; ²—*Luc. dinansi B. Luc.*, 23, *credensa, dilivansa* 99, *rinonsare* 101;—*Pis. senblansa, doglensa, amansa, pietansa, intensa, disviansa, accordansa, soffrensa, dubitansa, partensa Crest.*, 78, *valensa, fallensa, dottansa, convenensa, tardansa, plagensa* 79;—*Aret. sembiansa* 170, *temensa* 176, *valensa, negrigiensa* 183.

(g) $(n +)t(+\dot{i}) > (n +)z(+i)$: *confidenzie* (*N.* 101), *presenzia* 106, *reverenzie, sentenzia* 124, *avvertenzie* 315.

(h) $(s +)t(+\dot{i}) > s + ch (= k') + i$: *beschiaccia* (*C.* 24), *beschia, fracchienere = trattenere* 28, *oschia* (*Gr. P.* 11).

(i) $s(+t) > ss$ by assimilation.

1. *Pret. Ind.* 2: *passassi, mangiassi* (*S.* 208), *prestassi, andassi, stassi* (*Gr. P.* 43), *cadessi* (*S.* 207), *cognoscessi* 62, *potessi* 117, *ebbessi* (*C.* 47), *cogghiessi* 65, *dissi* 68, *siedessi* 101, *tacessi* 105, *tienssi* 106, *vedessi* 109, *fussi, facessi, dicessi* (*Gr. P.* 33), *sentissi* (*S.* 138), *partissi* 207, *vienissi* (*C.* 110).

¹A. G., XII, 151.

²Zs., IX, 561.

2. Pret. Ind. 5: *andassi* (S. 34), *stessi* (C. 103), *ebbessi* (S. 29), *cognossi* 62, *coggiessi* 64, *volessi* 156, *fussi* (C. 70), *paressi* 86, *potessi* 90, *siedessi* 101, *tacessi* 105, *tienssi* 106, *vedessi* 109, *dicessi* (Gr. P. 33), *sentissi* (S. 138), *vienissi* 155, *partissi* (C. 87).

3. Conditional 2: *anderessi* (S. 34), *ameressi* 173, *saressi* 74, *daressi* (C. 14), *diressi* 32, *averessi* 48, *cogghieressi* 66, *saperessi* (N. 169).

4. Conditional 5: *anderessi* (S. 34), *aressi* 30, *cogghieressi* 66, *dirressi* 68, *saressi* 74.

5. Imp. Subj. 5: *andessi* (S. 34), *aessi* 30, *coggiessi* (C. 65), *dicessi* 68, *fussi* 71, *sapessi* (N. 145), *vienissi* 40.—Cf. Pop. Lat. Pret. 2: *duxissi*; ¹—Sen. Imp. Subj. 5: *aitasse*, *andasse*, *avesse*, *dessi*, *dicesse*, *dovesse*, *facesse*, *persassi*, *pigliasse*, *sapesse*.²

Variants.

- (a) $(s +)t$ remains: *fistio*, *stianto* *ăst*[*ŭ*]lă (Gr. P. 11).
- (b) $(c +)t > cc (= kk)$: *spacco* (Gr. P. 43).
- (c) $(l +)t > (l +)g'$: *volgale* = *voltale* (Al. 13).
- (d) $(n +)t > (n +)ch (= k')$: *manchienuta* (M. 12), *volenchieri* (C. 22).—Cf. Flor. *volenchieri* C. Son., 11.
- (e) $(n +)t > (n +)ct$: *tancte* (Al. 59).
- (f) $(c +)t(+\hat{i}) > zz (= tts) + i$: *affezionato* (Gr. P. 21).
- (g) $(l +)t + \hat{i} > (l +)s$: *filsa* *fīl'tiā* (Gr. P. 21).
- (h) $(n +)t + \hat{i} > (n +)c (= k)$: *fancullo* (Gr. P. 21).
- (i) $n + t + \hat{i} > n + ch (= k') + i$: *denanchi* (Al. 54).
- (j) $(r +)t(+\hat{i})$ remains: *tertio* (Ricc., 41).
- (k) $(r +)t(+\hat{i}) > (r +)s$: *forsa* (Gr. P. 24), *smorsata* 43.
- (l) $(s +)t(+\hat{i}) > ss$: *possa* *pöstčă* (Al. 6). This assimilation of the *t* to the *s* is caused by the strong sonorous character of the *s*.

3. *t* before a consonant.

Variants.

- (a) $t('c) > g + i(\check{g})$: *viagio* (Al. 10).
- (b) $t(+r) > tt(+r)$: *tu tettrè* = *tutte e tre*' (Gr. P. 24).

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 145.

² Zs., IX, 413.

(c) $t (+z) > l (+z)$: *falzoletto* dimin. of German. *fetzen* (*Gr. P.* 10); $t > z$ by assimilation and then $z > l$ under influence of the following l ?

TT

§ 28. MEDIAL TT.

Intervocalic tt.

(a) $tt > ct (k't)$ in old Pistojesse: *tuctora*, *versecto*, *infra-mectere* (*Al.* 3), *saecte* 5, *tucto* 7, *mecteno* 11, *poghecto* 13, *bactalia* 29, *combactere* 66, *macteza* 68, *mactina* 71, *lectera* (*Ricc.*, 14).—Cf. *Sen. inpromectere Crest.*, 164;—*Luc. tucto B. Luc.*, 3, *quactro* 22, *saectare* 23, *mectare* 66, *dimactina* 92;—*Pis. tucti Crest.*, 166;—*Aret. tucto* 177.

(b) $tt > t$: *quattro* (*Al.* 30), *tuti* 31, *sacte* 51, *atesto* (*Gr. P.* 44).

Variants.

(a) $tt (+i) > cc (=kk)$: *goccolone güttiä* + (*Gr. P.* 20).

(b) $t(t) + i > z$: *ammazato mät(t)ëä* + (*Gr. P.* 67).

D

§ 29. INITIAL D.

$d (+i) > g$: *gorno dïurnüm* (*Al.* 22, *Gr. P.* 16).

§ 30. MEDIAL D.

1. *Intervocalic d.*

(a) $d \leftarrow > dd$: *sopraddetto* (*B.* 79), *daddio* (*Ap.* 17), *addue* 45, *adduoi* 51, *tuttiddua* (*M.* 4), *verneddi* 17, *contraddanza* (*S.* 154), *addoperà[re]* (*C.* 47), *deddio* (*Gr. P.* 16).—Cf. *Flor. à ddato Crest.*, 25;—*Luc. sodomito*, *rimmeddio*, *imbiddia*, *marteddi*, *gioveddi*, *luneddi*.¹

¹A. G., XII, 123.

(b) $d > th$ (ð) in modern Pistoiese: *rithere*, *vithi*, *motho*, *erethe*, *stratho*, *grithð*, (sono) *thebitore*, *uthire*, *methesimo* (secondary *d*), (*si*) *there*, *siethere*, *cothardo*.

Variants.

(a) d remains: *ched* (è) *quĭd* (*Al.* 64).—Cf. *Sen. ched*; ¹—*Luc. ched è*; ²—*Pis. ched ei*.³

(b) $d > l$: *olorare* = *òdëräre* + *òlëre* (*Al.* 55).⁴—Cf. *Flor. lore Tancia*, 1.

(c) $d > r$: *mirolla mēdüllām* (*Gr. P.* 11).—Cf. *Sen. mirollo*.⁵

(d) $d > t$: *temitoso* (*M.* 88) by assimilation, *mucito* (*Gr. P.* 15), *acito* 23, influenced by *aceto*.—Cf. *Luc. tiebbito*, *friggito*, *sucito*; ²—*Pis. velocipite*, *ossito*, *liquito*.⁶

(e) $d > v$; that is d disappears and v is introduced as a voiced labial glide under the influence of a labial vowel or of a (?): *avolterio* (*Al.* 22), *chivo* (*M.* 3, n.), *slavigli* (cf. *pavesi*) *Gr. P.* 13.

(f) $d (+ i) > g + i$ (*ġ*): *ogi* (*Al.* 54), *segiole*.—Cf. *Sen. ogi Crest.*, 162.

(g) $d (+ i) > gh$: *poghecto pōdřüm* + (*Al.* 12), *segħo* (*Ap.* 75).

(h) $d + i > ggh$: *cregghiate* (*M.* 3).

(i) $d (+ i) > gl + i$ (*l'*): *noglia* = *noja*, *gioglia* (*M.* 11).

(j) $d (+ i) > gn + i$ (*n'*): *vergognia* (*Gr. P.* 20).

(k) $d (+ i) > z$: *mezane* (*Al.* 13), *mezo* (*Gr. P.* 22).—Cf. *Luc. mezo B. Luc.*, 21.

2. d before a consonant.

d (secondary) + $r > th + r$ (ðr): *pathre*, *mathre*, *lathro*.

Variants.

(a) $d (+ v)$ remains in the learned word *adversitate* (*Al.* 19).

(b) $d (+ j) > gl (= l') + i$: *agliutare* (*Gr. P.* 44).

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 561.

² *A. G.*, XII, 123.

³ *A. G.*, XII, 152.

⁴ Cf. Brugmann, *Indo-German. Gram.*, I, § 369.

⁵ *Zs.*, IX, 562.

⁶ *A. G.*, XII, 151.

(c) $d(+r) > t(+r)$: *itropico* Grk. ὑδρωχ (*M.* 8), *ritropisia* (*Gr. P.* 14).—Cf. *Luc. ritropico*;¹—*Pis. ritropico*.²

(d) $d(+t) > c(+t)$: *macto* mǎdřtřm (*Al.* 4).

§ 31. FINAL D.

$d > t$: *at* = *ad* (*Al.* 21).

Apheresis.

(*pagl'*) 'i = *di* (*M.* 25), (*spin'*) *orsale* (*Gr. P.* 14).

Prosthesis.

deccogghi = *eccogli* (*C.* 9), (*una*) *distanza* = *istanza* (*Gr. P.* 12).—Cf. *Pis. dēccomi C. Son.*, 51.

Syncope.

The *d* of the prefix *-ad* is frequently syncopated before consonants in old Pistoiese; perhaps, however, the process is that of reduction, that is the *d* is first assimilated to the following consonant, and then the double consonant is reduced to a single consonant.

1. Before a labial consonant: *afermi* (*Al.* 6), *amaestramento* 9, *avenire* 12, *abisognano* 14, *afigeno* 19, *afatiamiento* 31, *amonitione* (*J.* 15), and in the modern language *aversieri* (*M.* 50), *afanni* (*Gr. P.* 22).

2. Before other consonants: *acompannerà* (*Al.* 11), *aguagli* 38, *asai*, *asociliare* 16, *alora* 19, *asociliamente* 31.—Cf. *Sen. acomandare Crest.*, 82, *asai* 163.

Epenthesis.

After *n* the voiced dental glide *d* is introduced: *cendere* (*Gr. P.* 11), *cenderone* 12; perhaps the *d* of *inde* (?) is preserved in *in-d-un* = *in uno* (*S.* 24), *'ndel* (*Gr. P.* 40), and *ndella* 67.—Cf. *Luc. chende, sinde*,³ *ind ello, ind uno*; ⁴—*Pis.*

¹ *A. G.*, XII, 123.

² *A. G.*, XII, 151.

³ *Caix, Origini*, 166.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 120.



ind uno, ind ello, cendere, tendero;¹—Canzon. ital. where the *d* is evidently from inde: *vonde = vonne, fande, nd'agio, kende = che ne, co'nde, minde*, also *nond'ò*, the *d* of which is epenthetical;²—French *cedre*.

DD

§ 32. MEDIAL DD.

Intervocalic dd.

dd (secondary) > *d*: *freddo* (*M.* 41).

TH

§ 33. MEDIAL TH.

1. *Intervocalic th.*

Variants.

- (a) *th* remains: *matheo* (*Al.* 53), *timotheo* 73.
- (b) *th* > *d*: *grysolido chrysolithum* (*Ap.* 92).
- (c) *th* > *z* (probably pronounced *th = ð*):³ *cazolica* (*Al.* 66).

2. *th* before a consonant.

th (+ m) > *mm* by assimilation: *arimmetica* (*Gr. P.* 20).

C. SIBILANTS.

S

§ 34. INITIAL S.

Variants.

- (a) *s* > *c'*: *ciucciano sūctiāre* (*Gr. P.* 36) by assimilation.
- (b) *s* > *sc + i (s̃)*: *scialiva* (*C.* 23).

¹ *Ibid.*, 149.

² *Uso*, 206.

³ Cf. *anthi* = *anzi*, *prodentha* = *prodenza*, *sapientha* = *sapienza*, etc. § 27, 2. (e).

(c) $s > z(s)$: *zole* (*M.* 6), *zinfonia* (*Gr. P.* 11).—Cf. Sen. which changes s into z (s) after l, m, n, r : *il zole*, etc.¹

§ 35. MEDIAL s .

1. Intervocalic s .

(a) $s > \text{ş}$: *coşa, caşa*.

(b) $s \leftarrow ss$ in old Pistoiese after *si, di, à, che, e, ma, tu*: (*si*) *ssi* (*Al.* 21), (*di*) *sse* 53, (*a*) *ssofferirlla* 60, *chessono*, *essignificò*, *essignioria* (*Ap.* 3), *chessi* 7, *masse*, *massono*, *chessiate* 9, *essaperanno* 15, *tusse* 17, *assedere*, *essopra* 19, *esservono*, *essalì* 33, *chessole* 41, *assonare* 43, *chessia* 45, *essarà* 59, *essigniore* 73, *essolevo*, *chessuonano* 79, *assantà* 95. The gemination of s takes place rarely in the modern language: in *assaltare* and *assercito* (*M.* 48, n.) the $s < ks$ is doubled after the pretonic e has become a ; *sessia* (*Gr. P.* 67). I have noted only one example of $s > ss$ after the accent: *risposse* (*Gr. P.* 22) by analogy with *scrissi*, *vissi*.—Cf. Flor. (*da*) *Ssomaja Crest.*, 20, (*la*) *ssua*, (*da*) *Ssan* 21, (*di*) *ssopra* 23, (*ke*) *ssono* 24, (*ke*) *ssodammo* 25;—Luc. *usso*, *ussare*, *visso*, *vissitare*, *rossa*, *chiessa*, *musso*, *sposso*, *spossare*, *Luchessi*, etc.;²—Pis. “*S mediano fra vocali, quando è sonoro, si raddoppia di regola nel pisano antico. L’espressione grafica ne è z ò ss; e son superflui gli esempj;*”³—Aret. (*e*) *sse Crest.*, 175, (*e*) *ssollicito* 176, (*e*) *ssaggia*, (*che*) *sson*, (*che*) *ssiamo* 179.

(c) $s (+ i) > sc (= sk)$: *cascone* (*Al.* 64), *basco* *bāsšüm* 74, *buscardo* O. H. G. *bōsi + (?)* 43, *malvasco* 69.

Variants.

(a) $s > z$: *ritropizia* (*Gr. P.* 44).

(b) $s (+ i) > \text{ş} (+ i)$: *malvaşio* (*Al.* 11), *Aşio* 51.

(c) $s (+ i) > c (= k)$: *caco cāsšüm* (*Gr. P.* 21) by assimilation, *chamica* 20.

(d) $s (+ i) > g$: *cagonate* (*Gr. P.* 21).

¹ Zs., IX, 560.

² A. G., XII, 119.

³ *Ibid.*, 149.

(e) $s + \dot{i} > c + i (\check{s})$: *camicia*.

(f) $s + \dot{i} > sc + i (\check{s})$: *chascione* (*Al.* 3).—Cf. *Prat. cascione Crest.*, 95;—*Sen. cascione, diviscione*.¹

2. *s* after a consonant.

$(n +) s > (n +) z$: *smenza = immensa* (*C.* 24), *'nzomma* 17, *ricompenza* (*Gr. P.* 20), *acchonzente* 46.

Variants.

(a) $(n +) s > (n +) c' (\check{c})$: *sanci* (*M.* 77).

(b) $p + s > p + ss$: *scripssi* (*Al.* 29).

(c) $(r +) s > 1. (r +) c' (\check{c})$: *verciar* (*M.* 83); 2. $(r +) z$: *horze = corse*.

(d) $(n +) s (+ \dot{i}) > 1. g$: *prigone* (*Gr. P.* 21); 2. $sc + i (\check{s})$: *priscione* (*Al.* 10); 3. $sg + i (\check{z})$: *prisgione* (*J.* 2); 4. $(n +) z (+ i)$: *protenzione, protenzionoso* (*Gr. P.* 12).—Cf. *Sen. piscione; pisgione, presgione*.²

Apheresis.

capata (*M.* 94).

Prosthesis.

1. Before a labial cons.: *sbasì* (*M.* 45), *sbeffare, sposare = posare* 45, n., *sfusciarre* 93, *sviolturi* 95, *sbrendoloni* (*C.* 10), *sfiammicante* 11, *spolverino* (*Gr. P.* 16).

2. Before a guttural: *scataverno* (*M.* 43), *scampare* 45, n.

Syncope.

1. Intervocalic *s*: *ventiei* (*Ricc.*, 23).

2. Before *c*: *dicendiamo* (*Al.* 51).

Metathesis.

amestico amethystum (*Ap.* 93), *strapoeto* (*Gr. P.* 12), *sbi-lungo = bislungo* 23.

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 559.

² *Caix, Origini*, 139.

SS

§ 36. MEDIAL SS.

Intervocalic ss.

ss > *s*: *discorresi* (Al. 4), *promeso* 24, *prosim*a (secondary *ss*) 44, *sonase* (Ricc., 7), *dovese* 8, *neciesaria* (Gr. P. 21), *posiede* 67.

Variants.

(a) *ss* > *sc* + *i* (*š*): *fracascio* (C. 29).

(b) *ss* > *zz*: *spazzaa* (C. 14).

Z

§ 37. INITIAL Z.

z > *r*: *razzamaglia* (M. 11) by dissimilation.

§ 38. MEDIAL Z.

1. *Intervocalic z.*

z (+ *î*) > *t* (+ *i*): *topatio tōpāzīŭm* (Ap. 93).

2. *z after a consonant.*

(cons. +) *z* > (cons. +) *s*: *falsoletto* (Gr. P. 10), *scersi* 67.

LIQUIDS.

L

§ 39. INITIAL L.

1. *Simple initial.*

$l' > n'$: *gnin* = *gliene* (M. 38).

2. *Initial group.*

(a) (lab. +) $l >$ (lab. +) r :¹ *frussione* (Gr. P. 13), *prurale* 22 by assimilation, *bramerebbe* (C. 33), *fragello* 34, *sprendore*, *sprendido*.

(b) (gutt. +) $l >$ (gutt. +) r : *groria* (Al. 50) and *grorificano* 61 by assimilation, *Crolinda* (S. 125), *Crasio*, *grobo* (Gr. P. 13), *scrama* (C. 9).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *fragellum*, *fros*, *fructuantes*, *gracies*;²—Flor. *sprendore Tancia*, 885, *scruso Lam. di Cec.*, 36, *sprende C. Son.*, 65, *Crotirde* 97;—Sen. *cremenzia*, *sprendido*, *sprendore*,³ *fremma C. Son.*, 1, *fragello* 55;—Pis. *Frora C. Son.*, 87;—Canzon. ital. *sprendore*, *-sprende*, *bronda*, *craro*, *pruzora*, *prasire*, *brasmare*, *frore*.⁴

§ 40. MEDIAL L.

1. *Intervocalic l.*

(a) l remains: *alegreza* (Al. 21), *mandàlo* 29, *ralegratevi* (Ap. 79), *olocco àlòcūm* (Gr. P. 15).

(b) $l > ll$: *istabile* (Al. 6), *parolle* 9, *malli* 11, *dillegente* 13, *periccollo* 43, *vigillie* (J. 4), *allexandro* (Ricc., 24) *barulli* = *bag + ulum* (Gr. P. 43), *collica* Grk. *κωλική* 44, also fre-

¹ Words borrowed from the Latin change in the old language their l into r . Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, § 423.

² Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 138-9.

³ Zs., IX, 551-2.

⁴ Caix, *Origini*, 139.

quently in Ap. before the article and personal pronoun after such monosyllables as *a, da, ma, e, che, chi*: *allui* 5, *dalloro* 37, *malla* 95, *ello* 5, *ella, elli* 7, *chella, chelli* 71, *chelle* 89, *chillo* 11; also before nouns: *allaudatia* 5, *allangielo* 7, *ellingue* 59, *chellione* 41; *sella* = *se + la* (B. 79), *allui* (Ricc., 13), *ellui* (Gr. P. 41).—Cf. Flor. *ke lle Crest.*, 22;—Prat. *di llui* 94, *co llui* 95;—Sen. *cho lloro* 118, *a llui* 163;—Pis. *da llei* 58, *a llei* 79;—Aret. *a llui* 170, *no lli* 176, *e llaida, e lloco, se llui* 177, *e lloro* 178, *e llargo* 179.

(c) *l > r* is a strong Pistojesse characteristic and is in constant use at San Marcello: *pungoro* (Al. 73), *miscorino* (J. 4), *pistorese* (Ricc., 14), *piura* (M. 44), *furigelli* 47 by dissimilation, *buriedò* 54, *vor* (S. 152), *var'* 172, *pillore* (Gr. P. 17) by dissimilation; the suffix -*ölüm* or -*ülüm* > -*uro* in Mea: *bruscuro* 3, *nocciur* 4, *bricciurin*, *pisuro* 7, *lucciuro* 9, *spazzure*, *brendur* 11, *roturo* 25, *sdrucciuro* 29, *scarabatturi*, *notturi*, *mesture*, *penture* 31, *picciuro*, *mugura* 34, *cioture* 37, *gócciuiron*, *spenzura* 38, *appisuro* 40, *nocciuro*, *tomburon* 41, *trottura*, *fignuro*, *mignuro* 42, *spiguro*, *entragnuri* 43, *broccuri*, *moccuri* 53, *ballodure* 55, *ventricuro* 56, *rivendugliuro* 63, *riboburo*, *frugiuron* 66, *svocciura* 76, *briciuro* 81, *rossignuri* 81.—Cf. Luc. *pentora*, *bamboro*, *bellicoro*, *gallettoro*, etc.;¹—Pis. *amburo*, *aminduro*, *Pecciori*, *Montetoperi*.²

(d) *l + ð* is written in the older language *li*, *lli*, *gl* (= *l'*), *lgl* (= *l'*), *i*.

1. *li*:³ *filiuolo* (Al. 3), *melio* 5, *consilio*, *consilieri* 10, *cilia* 13, *asoctiliari* 16, *similianza* 19, *chonsiliare* 21, *meraviliare* 22, *molie* 23, *batalia* 64, *filiola* (B. 80), *vermilio* (J. 24).

2. *lli*:³ *filliuolo* (Al. 3), *mellio*, *isvellia* 7, *argollio*, *sellì* = *se + egli* 8, *consillio* 10, *similliantemente* 14, *bactallia* 28, *agualiare* 59, *vermillio* (J. 24). This *lli* was not pronounced as *l'* as is proved by the modern pronunciation in the Pistojesse mountains: *travalli* (Gr. P. 22), *fillio* 67, etc.

¹A. G., XII, 117.

²*Ibid.*, 147.

³The writing *li* or *lli* prevails in MSS. of the middle of the XIII century. Cf. Caix, *Origini*, 137.

3. *gl*(=*l'*): *mogle* (B. 77), *glavesse*, *glaltri* 81, *meglo* 83, *fogla*, *paglaio* (Gr. P. 21), *travaglo*, *glomini* 22.

4. *lgl*(=*l'*): *volglendo* (B. 77), *melglo*, *volglo*, *valglano* 82, *filghuoli* (MS. 283).¹

5. *i*: *mei'* *měliūs* (Al. 27).

The modern language has also *ll*, *gli*, *j*, *jj*.

6. *ll*: *pallaraccio* *pălěä* + *ērīciūs* (Gr. P. 16).

7. *gli*: *oglio* (Gr. P. 43) by the side of the learned *olio*.

8. *j*: *tajare*, *pijare* (Gr. P. 49).

9. *jj*: *mejjo* *měliūs* (Gr. P. 39).—Cf. Sen. *ll*, *l* for *l'*:² *filiuoli* Crest., 39, *molie* *măliēr* 40; *lulglo* 37, (*e*) *lgli*, *algli*, *dolgio*, *solgio*, *volgio* 81–2, *melgio* 163, *lulglio* 165;—Luc. *tavolieri* B. Luc., 29, *filiuolo* 46, *taliare* 51; *ricolliera* 11, *similliante* 18, *familliale* 19, *filliuolo* 23, *pilliare*, *vallia* 29, *famillia* 40, *alli* = *agli* 48, *Lullio* 58, *ollio* 91, *pilliamento* 100;—Pis. *filio* Crest., 166, *piliare* 167; *mellio* 79; *solgio* 58, *melgio*, *dolgio* 59, *dolgliensa* 78;—Aret. *follia* Crest., 168, *tolliate* 176; *volgia*, *dolgia* 168, *orgolgia*, *acolgia*, *tolgia*, *folgia* 169, *solgio* 172, *filgli* 182;—Canzon. ital. *de li*; *vollio*, *dollienza*, *milliore*, *meravillia*, *kellie*; *meglo*, *voglo*, *spogla*, *vagla*, *dogla*; *megliore*, *melgio*, *volgio*, *maravilgia*, *spolgia*, *valgia*, *dolgia*;³—Sicil. *meglu*, *figlu*, *consiglu*, *spogla*, *famigla*, *olglu*.⁴

(*e*) *l* + *i* > *j* > *gghi*.⁵ For the *j* stage cf. above, § 40, (d) 8 *tajare*, *pijare* (Gr. P. 49). *gghi* is a modern Pistojesse development: *ammogghiato* (S. 23), *cigghio* 5, 'ogghio 7, *gghi* = *egli* 11, *quegghi* 25, *pagghia*, *giunchigghia* 29, *figghiolo* 43, *pigghiare* 45, *fogghio* 94, *mogghie* 110, *figghia* 148, *cordogghio* 151, *svegghiava* 158, *magghioli* 177, *mantigghia* 195, *cogghi* 200, *metragghie* 212, *figghio* 245, *sbaigghiare* 131, *tagghi* 166, *cavagghieri* (S. and C. 6), *egghino*, *pigghia*, *megghio* (C. 8), *degghi*, *deccogghi* = *ecco* + *gli* 9, *consigghio* 11, *agghi* 13,

¹ Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. VIII, No. 4, cols. 219–12, where I have published MS. 283.

² Zs., IX, 553.

³ Caix, *Origini*, 137.

⁴ Schneegans, *Sicil. Dial.*, 134.

⁵ Caix gives this development. Cf. *Dial. d' Ital.*, 133, 210.

dagghi 14, *fogghe* 29, *spogghiassi* 18, *sbadigghio* 32, *bat-tagghia* 35, *botigghia* 36, *fogghiolino* 38, *vigghiaccone* 39, *negghi* 41, *cogghie* 65, *toagghia* þwahlja (*Gr. P.* 48).—Cf. *Flor. chegghi*, *foggio*, *'ogghi*, *egghi*,¹ *gghi*, (*occhi*), *egghino*, *megghio*,² *scegghi*, *cogghi*; ³—*Luc. pagghia*.⁴ $l + \dot{i} > j > gg$ hi is also met with in many southern dialects and is general in Sicilian;⁵ *Sicil. pigghiu*, *megghiu*, *figghiu*, *pigghia*, *risvigghiu*, *gigghia*, *cogghi*.⁶

2. *l* after a consonant.

(a) $l > r$.

1. (Lab.) + $l > (\text{lab.} +) r$: *risprende* (*Al.* 5), *asempri* 9, *moltiplicherano*, *ubriaza* 65, *obriare* 68, *risprendiente* (*Ap.* 81), *contempre* (*Cino*, 12), *apprica* (*M.* 6), *pubbolicazioni* 72, *semprice* 3, n., *ampre* 20, *pubrico* 74, *reprice* (*C.* 9), *comprimenti* 19, *ubbrigato* 28, *arreprice* 29, *repubrica* (*Gr. P.* 15), *espricà*, *affritto* 48.

2. (Gutt.) + $l > (\text{gutt.}) + r$: *negrigenza* (*M.* 3, n.), *concrusione* (*S.* 153), *concruda* (*C.* 44), *incrinazione* (*Gr. P.* 16), *'necinato* 24.—Cf. *Flor. obbrigato Tancia*, 933, *concrusion* 896, *incrinazione* 949, *rifressione C. Son.*, 28, *compricato* 40, *infruenze* 49, *affrizione* 77, *concrude* 92;—*Sen. affriggiare*, *affrizione*, *affritto*, *ampro*, *asempro*, *compressione*, *contemprazione*, *discripina*, *ob(b)rigare*, *reprice*, *sémprice*, *rispréndare*, *supricare*, *pubrico*, *ripubrica*; *concrudano*, *negrigenzia*; ⁷—*Pis. comprimento C. Son.*, 49;—*Canzon. ital. afritto*, *obria*, *obrianza*, *exempro*, *dobbra*; *nigrigenza*; ⁸—*Pad. pubrico*; ⁹—*Guittone* has many examples of this $l > r$.¹⁰

(b) $(r +)l > (r +)ll$ is a special old Pistoiese characteristic. The *l* is doubled in order to give a stronger pronunciation to the *r*: *disporllo*, *schiararllo* (*Al.* 3), *dirllo* 6, *parllo* 9, *parllare*

¹ *Uso*, 206.

³ *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 133.

² *Ibid.*, 209.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 116.

⁵ *Caix* gives this development. Cf. *Dial. d' Ital.*, 133, 210.

⁶ *Schneegans, Sicil. Dial.*, 134–5.

⁷ *Zs.*, IX, 552–3.

⁹ *Wendriner, Pad. Mund.*, 28.

⁸ *Caix, Origini*, 139.

¹⁰ *Caix, Origini*, 141.

11, *ritenerllo*, *mutarllo* 32, *esaminarllo* 42, *compierlla* 44, *farllo* 45, *ssofferirlllo* 60, *regharlli* 61, *usarllo* 63, *corromperlla*, *carllo* 66, *pregarlli* 70, *perderlla*, *rinovarlla* 72, *nerlli* (*Ricc.*, 16).—Cf. Prov. *parllam* Bartsch, *Chrest. Prov.*, 1, *parllar* 554.

(c) $r + l' > gghi$ ¹ in modern Pistoiese. This phenomenon takes place only when the personal pronoun *gli* is joined to the infinitive: *arrispondegghi* (*C.* 8), *mangiagghi* 14, *auzzagghi* 19, *cucinagghi* 20, *fagghi* 22, *toccagghi* 23, *badagghi* 28, *portagghi* 30, *dimandagghiello* 33, *raccontagghiello* 42, *leagghi* = *levargli*, *regalagghi* 43.

3. *l* before a consonant.

(a) $l + \text{cons.} > i + \text{double cons.}$ only in the modern language. By the law of least action the friction is taken off the point *l* so that an *i* is developed, and then the following consonant is doubled by compensatory lengthening: *coippo*, *caiddo*, *gaiccina*, *aittro* (*S.* 11), *aitto* 39, *soiddato* 140, *aittura*, *aittrettanto* (*C.* 49), *caizza*, *caizzoni* 60, *goippe* = *volpe* 75, *soiddo* 101, *Poiddo* (*Gr. P.* 46), *faccoittà*, *quaiccuno*, *voitto*.—Cf. Flor. *aimmeno* *C. Son.*, 67, *faccoittà*, *quaiccuna*, *saitta*, *aibbusillis*, *aittro*, *voissucho*, *'oitte* = *volte*, *aivvostro*; ² the favorite Florentine development, however, is the assimilation of the *l* to the following consonant without developing an *i*: *lorattri* *C. Son.*, 11, *icchè* 14, *soddi* 16, *attrimenti* 17, *attro* 18, *soddino* 68; also where the *i* is swallowed up in the *i* of the article: *iffatto* = *il fatto*, *iggrillo*, *diccanto*, *ippresente*, *ittempo*, *irvostro*, *ipprimo*, etc.; ³—Sen. *Vaiddarbia*,⁴ *taicche* *C. Son.*, 7, *aimmanco*, *aizzano* 89.

(b) $l(+ \text{cons.}) > n(+ \text{cons.})$: *'ntandì* = *un + tal + dî* (*M.* 44) by assimilation; *antro* (*C.* 52), *antre* (*M.* 10), *voantre* 97, *noantri* and *lorantri* (*S.* 118) get their *n* from the indefinite article; *ancipresso* (*Uso*, 52).—Cf. Flor. *maninconoso* *Tancia*,

¹ Cf. Intervocalic $l' > gghi$, § 40, (e).

² *Ibid.*, 208 foll.

³ *Uso*, 206 foll.

⁴ *Zs.*, IX, 551.

946, *antro*;—Sen. *apostono*, *cononello*;¹—Pis. *antro* *C. Son.*, 20;—Tuscan *antro*.²

(c) *l*(+ cons.) > *r*(+ cons.) is a strong Pistojesse characteristic.

1. By assimilation: *vortare* (*S.* 22), *varzere* 154, *Sorferino* 209, *Garibardi* 228, *atri*, *bardoria*, *stravorto*, *seportura* (*C.* 8), *ortre* 21, *isvorgere* 42, *agricortura* (*Gr. P.* 22), *artrimente*, *artare*, *Sarvatore*, *Crotirde*.

2. By dissimilation: *svortoloni* (*S.* 114), *curtello* (*S.* and *C.* 19), *tarquala* = *talquale* (*C.* 11), *svortala* 13, *curtelluccio* 15.

3. Other cases are: *morta* (*S.* 71), *vorto* 151, *carze* 154, *quarcheduno*, *sordati* 158, *sordo* 172, *'nnarzata* 210, *corpo* 225, *carzò*' = *calzone*, *barcò*' (*S.* and *C.* 4), *torto* 5, *marfattore* 7, *Arpe* (*N.-N.* 4), *vorte*, *cuarc*' = *qualche* (*C.* 8), *parmo* 9, *arto* = *alto*, *gorpe* = *volpe*, *sortanto* 10, *vòrs*' 11, *sarva*, *arza* 13, *iscerta* = *scelta*, *finarmente*, *dimorti* 17, *cardo* 18, *quarcun* 19, *sciorto*, *corpa*, *sarta* 21, *ascorto* 23, *sartabecca* 29, *cuarcosa* = *qualcosa* 32, *sarvàtia* 35, *tarpe* (*Gr. P.* 15), *corto* 36, *urtime*, *furmine*, *pormone*, *farso*, *Rinardo*, *marvagio*, *civirtà*, *civirmente*, *facirmente*, *inutirmente*, *nobirmente*, *sarvamente*, *speciarmente*, *er*, *ar*, *der*, *dar*, *ner*, *cor*, *sur*, etc. In the older language there is one example: *cavarcione* (*I. P.* 8).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *arvo*, *arta*, *Arbuciano*, *murtiperas*, *farsa*, *carcedonius*;³—Flor. *quarche* *C. Son.*, 10, *dimorto* 11, *tarquale* 12, *'orta* = *volta*, *mar* (*dì*) 13, *civirtà* 26, *purce* 31, *nobirmente* 44, *speciarmente* 54, *urtime* 57, *sortanto* 59, *sordati*, *carzone* 61, *sordo* 62, *convursioni* 77, *sarvare*, *artare* 94, *pormone* 95, *Crotirde* 97;—Sen. *archimía*, *artro*, *carsolaro* (*calsolajo*), *er*, *ar*, *cor*, *der*, *ner*, etc., *finarmente*, *insurtare*, *morto* (*multum*), *pontuarmente*, *quarcuno*, *sarvamente*, *sordo*, *tarquale*, *vorta*,⁴ *artronde* *C. Son.*, 3, *sortanto* 14, *arto* 16, *sartato* 21, *furmine* 27, *quarche* 32, (*dar*) *petto* 34, *Leopordo* 43, *ascorta* 46, *sarve*, *Sarvatore* 49, *cardo* 51, *arcuna* 58, *Rinardo* 60, *'nutirmente* 88, *mercordì*

¹ *Ibid.*, 552.

² *Caix*, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 116.

³ *Schuch.*, *Vokalismus*, I, 138-9.

⁴ *Zs.*, IX, 551-2.

91, *purci, pormoni* 104, *urtime* 109;—Luc. “Oggi, nel contado, *l* che preceda a consonante vien di regola a *r*: *antro, cardo, sordo, dorco* e *dorcē, farce sarcio tarpa corpo arba parmo bgrso* ecc. I documenti non offrono di questo fatto se non esempj sporadici: nessuno in bdl., se ho ben veduto; *marvagio* pod. 35, *fraterto* fratel tuo 48, *parmo* inv. 85, *farsa* 90;”¹—Pis. *carzolaio Race.*, 279, *er (coco)* 281, *sarto, morto* 290; “Preso la plebe della città e nel contado, *l* seguito da consonante vien di regola a *r*. * * * Nei documenti, è fenomeno sporadico: *arbagio, sarvamento, carvellino, Erba, farda,*² *er (convurso) C. Son.*, 5, *quarche, der (tempo), facirmente, sur (serio)* 6, *ar (timone)* 10, *vorte* 11, *artronde* 14, *armeno* 18, *artro* 22, *artare* 23, *sarta* 24, *sortanto, pormone* 41, *farso* 45, *artero* 49, *Purcinello* 50, *Rinardo, sartimbanchi* 58, *virmente* 79, *Frora* 87;—Pad. *cortello, Marchioro*.³

Variant.

l(+ *t*) > *ll*(+ *t*) only in *colltello* (Al. 67).

Apheresis.

Initial *l* is sometimes suppressed by the people, believing it to be the *l* of the article: *usinghe, usinghevoli* (Al. 40), *abis läpis, acero* (Gr. P. 11), *ago* 15, *astrico, aberinto, orologio*.—Cf. Sen. *le tanie* = *le litanie, attone, ordura*;⁴—Luc. *tanie, ombrico, astraco, abberinto, ago, abbro, upo*;⁵—Tuscan *astraco, aberinto, ombrico, orbaco, orologio*;⁶—Mil. *apis, astreg* = *lastrico, ares, üsèll* (lucello- o luxello-?), *ornëtt, ütomia*.⁷

Prosthesis.

l of the article: *lusanza* (Al. 6), *lellora hëdërä* (Gr. P. 13), *lavarò* 16, *letichetta* 17, *listesso* (C. 80), *listessamente*.—Cf. Sen. *lampolla, lape* (= *api*; ⁴—Luc. *lamo, lellora, lapa* (= *ape*), *londa*,

¹ Pieri, *A. G.*, XII, 118.

² *Ibid.*, 148.

³ Wendriner, *Pad. Mund.*, 28-9.

⁴ *Zs.*, IX, 551-2.

⁵ *A. G.*, XII, 125.

⁶ Caix, *Dial. d' Ital.*, 107.

⁷ Salvioni, *Dial. Mod.*, 177.

lacciúa = *acciuga*; ¹—Pis. *listesso*, *lusuraio*, *litterizia*, *lamo*, *lellerà*, *lacca* = *anca*, ² *listessa*, *listessamente*; ³—Mil. *lecco*, *lovalta*, *loto* = *lottone*, *lüsürìa*.⁴

Syncope.

(a) Intervocalic *l* is syncopated only in the older language: ⁵ *tai* (*Al.* 10), *chotai* 23, *mai* 25, *quai* 71, *fedei* (*Cino*, 240).

(b) *l* after a cons.: *sempice* (*Al.* 6), *singozzo* *sīnglüttüs* (*Gr. P.* 14).

(c) *l* before a cons.: *idio* (*Al.* 43), *abergare*, *mafattore* (*M.* 4, n.), *utimar* 85, *puce*, *pucino* (*Uso*, 777), *utimo*.—Cf. Flor. *mortai Intell.*, 20, *crudei* 13, *utimo C. Son.*, 95;—Sen. *bestiai*, *cardenai*, *carmai*, *mai*, *rivai*, *cache* (= *qualche*), *mafattore*, *utimo*; ⁶—Pis. *utima C. Son.*, 69;—Canzon. ital. *mai*, *leai*, *augei*.⁷

Metathesis.

Reciprocal metathesis of *l* and *r*: *palora* (*S.* 153), *Crolindo* 186, *grolia*, *grolioso*, *balire*.—Cf. Flor. *palore Tancia*, 893, *grolioso* 946;—Sen. *grolia*, *grolioso*.⁸

LL

§ 41. MEDIAL LL.

Intervocalic ll.

ll > *l*: *alegare* (*Al.* 15), *quelo* 22, *metalo* (*Ap.* 77), *aluminerà* 95, *chastelo* (*Ricc.*, 34).

Variants.

(a) *ll* remains: *tollere* (*J.* 9), *gillia* *ärgyllä* (*Gr. P.* 14).—Cf. Canzon. ital. *tollere*.⁹

(b) *ll* > *l'*: *canceglieri* (*Gr. P.* 10), *cavaglieri* (*N.* 90).

¹ *A. G.*, XII, 125.

² *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 108.

³ *Uso*, 532-3.

⁴ *Salvioni, Dial. Mod.*, 176.

⁵ *Cf. A. G.*, IX, 98-9; *Grundriss*, I, 533, § 78.

⁶ *Zs.*, IX, 552.

⁷ *Zs.*, IX, 554.

⁸ *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 136.

⁹ *Caix, Origini*, 138.



R

§ 42. INITIAL R.

Variants.

- (a) $r > d$: *disipola* erysipelas (*Gr. P.* 13).
 (b) $r > l$: *leppicar* = *replicare* (*M.* 3).—Cf. *Flor. liverenza* *Lam. di Cec.*, 33;—*Sen. lobrica* (*rubrica*), *lóveri* (*robur*).¹

§ 43. MEDIAL R.

Intervocalic r.

(a) $r > rr$: *errano* (*Ap.* 5), *scriverrò* 17, *entrrerrò* 19, *erragunatevi* 83, *arredi* = *erédi* (*M.* 48), *dirrà* (*S.* 20), *temperrino* (*Gr. P.* 22), *barrile* 23, *miserria* 44, *forro* 47.—Cf. *Flor. a rrascione* *Crest.*, 19, *perrispese* 26;—*Pis. dirrò* 23;—*Sen. amerrò*, *temerrò*, *sentirrò*, *entrarrò*, etc.²

(b) $r > l$: *volgale* (*Al.* 53) and *famigliali* (*J.* 11) by assimilation, *diletrice* (*Gr. P.* 10) and *tortale* *türtürēm* 15 by dissimilation, *isvaliato* (*Al.* 54), *cilimoniere* (*M.* 75), *valicosa* (*Gr. P.* 25), *galantisco* 34.—Cf. *Flor. cilimonie Tancia*, 899;—*Sen. célabro*, *maliscalco*; ³—*Luc. Quilico*; ⁴—*Pis. Quilico*, *Catalina*, *ingiulia*.⁵

Variants.

- (a) r remains: *parochia* (*Gr. P.* 44).
 (b) $r > d$: *contradio* (*Al.* 15).—Cf. *Flor. contradio Tancia*, 885;—*Aret. contradio Crest.*, 178.
 (c) $r > tt$: *otta*, *allotta* (*C.* 11).⁶—Cf. *Flor. otta Nencia*, 1.
 (d) $r + i > l'$: *gennaglio* (*M.* 8), etc. Cf. § 1, (a) 6.

2. r after a consonant.

Variants.

- (a) $(n +) r > (n +) rr$: *conrrrompe* (*Al.* 57).
 (b) $(p +) r > (p +) l$: *emplici* (*Gr. P.* 17).

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 553.³ *Ibid.*, 426.⁵ *Ibid.*, 148.² *Ibid.*, 426.⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 118.⁶ Cf. *Grundriss*, I, 535, § 89.

3. *r* before a consonant.

(a) $r(+\text{cons.}) > l(+\text{cons.})$: *volgalmente* (*Al.* 58) by assimilation, *albitrio* (*J.* 11, n.) by dissimilation, *saldine* (*Gr. P.* 10), *falsa färsä* 15, *appaltamento* 16, *polche* 17, *alteria* 25.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. alteriae, Foltunatae, felvente*.¹—The phenomenon $r(+\text{cons.}) > l(+\text{cons.})$, which is rare in Pistojesè, Lucchese, and Florentine, is of frequent occurrence in Senese, and is the rule in Pisano.—*Sen. alchetto, alco, Beltrando, riselvare, albitro, álboro*,² *bilialdo, paltire C. Son.*, 85, *ritolno, Livolno, giolno, impolta*, 86;—*Pis. “Presso la plebe della città e in parte del contado, r seguito da consonante oggi vien di regola a l: calta, polta, porta, peldere, spoldo, sordo, polco, melcato e melce, spalgere, corpo corpo, elba felmo velso ecc. Nessun indizio di ciò nostri testi,”*³ *atravelso C. Son.*, 5, *Foltunato* 6, *pelché, folnelli, calbone* 9, *tolno* 13, *Tolquato* 14, *convelsazione, paltita, pelsone* 19, *Govelno, melcato* 24, *Lungalno, diveltimento* 25, *discolsi* 26, *giolnale* 27, *dicelto* 28, *pelsiane* 29, *Velginio* 30, *celca* 31, *giolnata* 33, *solgente* 37, *dolme, gualdia* 38, *fortuna* 42, *felmo, giolno, folno, tolmenti* 43, *selpente* 46, *alchitetto* 49, *velgine, Elnesto* 51, *ielsera* 53, *celvello* 56, *pel messo* 62, *Maltino* 63, *pelso, osselvazione* 65, *Vennaldì* 66, etc.

(b) In modern Pistojesè the *r* of the infinitive is frequently assimilated to the initial consonant of the personal or reflexive pronoun that is joined to it.

1. $r + c > cc$: *èssecci* (*C.* 8), *riedécci* 10, *salicci* 17, *rimetteoci* 23, *rappresentacci* (*Son. Pop.*, 61).

2. $r + l > ll$: *sbeffallo* (*C.* 8), *vedello* 9, *addentalla, riaélla, ingrassalle, campalle, esfortolallo* 14, *ricercallo* 16, *mangiallo* 17, *potello* 18, *agguantallo* 19, *acchiappallo* 20, *menallo* 21, *ritirallo, troallo* 23, *aspettallo, tambussallo* 24, *raffreddalla* 25, *marimettalla* 26, *brancicalla, rimedialla* 37, *rivestilla* 40, *ammazzallo* (*S.* 175), *arrivedello* (*Gr. P.* 17), *ricompensallo* (*Son. Pop.*, 19).

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 137.

³ *Ibid.*, 148.

² *Zs.*, IX, 553.

3. $r + m > mm$: *ingrassammi* (C. 11), *pigghiammi* 20, *mangiammela* 26, *sbatacchiammi* 29, *levammi* (S. 187), *battemmi* 219, *vedemmi*, *sentimmi* (Son. Pop., 29).

4. $r + s > ss$: *smòdessi*, *pigghiassi* (C. 12), *spassionassi* 13, *cercassi* 14, *dilontanassi*, *essessi*, *caricassi* 15, *sentissi* 18, *restassene* 20, *spiegassi* 21, *portasselo* 22, *misurassi*, *lamentassi* 24, *andassene* 25, *posassi* 26, *apprissi*, *serrassi* 29, *arrampicassi* 31, *persuadessi*, *caassi*, *stucassi* 32, *mettessi* 42, *fermassi* (Son. Pop., 45).

5. $r + t > tt$: *mettetti* (C. 8), *mangiatti* 10, *pappatti* 11, *cucinatti* 15, *ingrassatti* 17, *pigghiatti* 18, *contentatti* 21.—Cf. Flor. *dillo* C. Son., 5, *troallo* 10, *guarillo* 27, *dimenallo* 36, *offendilla* 52; *spiegammi* 31, *dammi* 36, *rimpicciammi*, *chiedimmi* 43; *riposassi*, *tappassi*, *strapazzassi* 25, *fermassi* 58; *portatti* 13, *fatti*, *essetti*, *amatti* 14, *vedetti*, *statti*, *recitatti* 43;—Sen. *dalli*, *dilla*, *fallo*, *lavorallo*, *murallo*, *portallo*, *mantenello*, *vedello*,¹ *avello* C. Son., 4, *chiamallo* 82; *rimediacci* 11, *avecci* 54; *rifammi* 35, *fammi* 53; *ditti* 5;—Pis. *stiaffallo*, *rispettallo* C. Son., 31, *martrattallo* 77, *vedello* 95; *pensacci* 78; *selbammi* 95; *godessi* 8, *strapazzassi*, *sbaglassi* 21, *trovassi* 41, *guadagnassi* 58, *levassi* 70, *scardassi* 74, *buscassi* 83.

Prosthesis.

ritropico = *idropico* (M. 8), *rarrabatai* 48, (Signor) *Rispettore* (Gr. P. 10).

Syncope.

1. r after a consonant: *contastare* = *contrastare* (J. 5) by assimilation, *propio* (C. 8), *dreto* *dē* + *rētro* (M. 52) by dissimilation, *castica* = *gastrica* (Gr. P. 25).

2. r before a consonant: *convisatione* (Al. 38), *foteze* (Ric., 10), *maciolo* *mărcūm* + (Gr. P. 25).—Cf. Flor. *dreto* *Tancia*, 901, *propio* *Lam. di Cec.*, 14;—Sen. *drieto*, *detro*;²—Pis. *dreto* C. Son., 102.

¹ Zs., IX, 428.

² *Ibid.*, 554.

Epenthesis.

1. Intervocalic *r*: *coresta* = *codesta*.

2. *r* after a consonant.

(a) after a labial: *prungitopoli*, *frusto fūstīs* (Gr. P. 13), *prugne* 37.

(b) after a dental: *drotrina* (Al. 29) by assimilation, *mas-tricare* 31, *listra* (Gr. P. 16), *mantrice* 17.

3. *r* before a consonant: *mandorlino* (Gr. P. 11), *aermaria* 41.—Cf. Flor. *coresto* Lam. di Cec., 11, *attronito* 13, *concu-brina* Tancia, 929, *mandorlino* C. Son., 33, *aliustre* Racc., 282;—Sen. *Prietro Crest.*, 40, *caprestro*;¹—Luc. *bruscola*, *frin-estra*, *vespre*;²—Pis. *bruscola*, *calubrinieri*, *trqccolo* = *tocco*,³ *aliustre* Racc., 283.

Metathesis.

verneddì (M. 17), *frebbe*, *preta* 17, n., *sberno* 43, *drento* 47, *presempio* 57, *scropiti* (C. 9), *Preto*.—Cf. Flor. *drento* Tancia, 895, *Preto* 905, *vreto* 930, *frebbe* 948, *preta* Lam. di Cec., 17;—Sen. *catredale*, *drento*, *frabicare*, *frebbe*, *Grabiello*, *persente* (*prae-sentem*), *prefeto* (*perfectum*), *vreto*;¹—Luc. *presempio*;⁴—Pis. *treato*, *Penestra*.⁵

For the reciprocal metathesis of *l* and *r* cf. § 40, Metathesis.

RR

§ 44. MEDIAL RR.

Intervocalic *rr* > *r*: *tera* (Al. 11), *nararo*, *guera* 21, *terena* 33, *coruccio* 68, *discoro* (S. 49), *gueriera* 127, *arosto* (S. and C. 13), *fero* (C. 24), *pori porrum* (Gr. P. 13), *emorogia* haimor-hagia 16, *guera* 21, *soccoriamo* 23, *ricore* 44, *erore*, *corezione* 46, *carozza*, *caro* 47, *afferare*, *accorer* 67.—Cf. Luc. *tera*, *faro*, *tore*, *corere*, *fero*, *caro*, *guera*, *teritorio*;⁶—Pis. *tore*, *tera*, *soc-corere*, *coreggiere*.³

¹ *Ibid.*, 554.

² A. G., XII, 118.

³ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁴ A. G., XII, 125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶ A. G., XII, 118.

E. NASALS.

M

§ 45. MEDIAL M.

1. Intervocalic m.

(a) *m* remains: *dimi* (*Al.* 27), *bestemia* (*Ap.* 69), *femina* 73, *solevomi* 91, *mostromi* 95.—Cf. *Sen. fumo Crest.*, 163;—*Luc. femina B. Luc.*, 49;—*Canzon. ital. femina.*¹

(b) *m* > *mm*: *amme*, *damme* = *da* + *me* (*Ap.* 17), *chemmi* 43, *consummate* (*S.* 17), *fummare* 137, *cammerieri* (*N.* 162), *stommaco* (*Gr. P.* 12), *ammente* 13, *camummilla* *chaimaimelon* 16, *fummo* 17, *ammodo* 32, (*di*) *'mmondo* 50, *cammera*, *nimmo*.—Cf. *Sen. comme*; ²—*Luc. nimmo*, *cocommalo*, *cammera*, *sem-mola*, *presumma*, *insiemme*, *chiamma*, *primma*; ³—*Pis. commo*, *cammera*, *presumere*, *fummare*; ⁴—*Aret. che mme Crest.*, 171.

Variant.

m > *n*: *lagrunare* (*Al.* 62).

2. *m* before a consonant.

(a) *m* (+ *n*). 1. remains: *omnipotente* (*Ap.* 5); 2. becomes *n'* (written *ngn*): *ongni* (*J.* 18), *ongniuno* (*Ap.* 99); 3. becomes *r* (+ *n*): *auturno* (*M.* 19), *sciorni* *ëx* + *sömnüm* 72; 4. becomes *s* (+ *n*): *smenso* (*N.* 115) by assimilation.

(b) *m* (+ lab.) > *n* (+ lab.) by dissimilation: *senpice* (*Al.* 6), *tenporale* 61, *temperare* 72, *inparare* 76, *inprima* (*B.* 77), *lanpe* (*Ap.* 19), *anpolle* 23, *campo*, *senpre* (*Gr. P.* 20), *Lanberto*, *banbina*, *tenpeste*, *conpratore* 21, *temperino* 22, *dinpero* = *de* + *impero* 23, *conposto* 24, *onbrelli* 43, *canbialo* 66, *ronpetto*, *ganba* 67, *'nvecille* (*C.* 8), *tenpo*.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. Decembres*, *Novembres*, *senper*, *ponpae*; ⁵—*Sen. anbasciadore*, *anbo*, *banbino*, *canbiare*, *decembre*, *ganba*, *menbro*, *canpana*, *campo*, *sen-*

¹ *Caix, Origini*, 142.

² *Zs.*, IX, 558.

³ *A. G.*, XII, 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁵ *Schuch., Vokalismus*, I, 108.

pro, tempo; ¹—Pis. *senblansa Crest.*, 78;—Aret. *menbrança* 63, *conperagione* 169, *conpiuto, compimento, senbrate, senpre* 170, *tenpestoso* 171, *enpone* 174, *menbra* 177, *tempo* 178, *scanpare* 179, *canpana* 181, *compagnia* 182;—Canzon. ital. *tempo, senpre, inpero, canpana, menbre, scanpar, compimento, onbra, tenpestoso*; ²—in old Tuscan texts: *onbria Intell.*, 6, *insenbre* 17, *assenbiamento* 19; *B. d'Ant. tempo, inperadore Zs.* XV, 55, *compagnia* 56, *canpana* 57, *inprometto, canpare* 62, *Lombardia, scanpare* 63.

Syncope.

Before *n*: *daneggiare (Al. 37), dona* 50, *onipotente (Ap. 21)*, that is *mn > nn* by assimilation and then *n* by reduction.—Cf. Aret. *onipotente Crest.*, 170.

MM

§ 46. MEDIAL MM.

Intervocalic *mm > m* by reduction: *somo sūmmūm (Al. 8), somitade* 31, *somaria (J. 5), amiratione (Al. 71), goma gūmmā (Gr. P. 11)*.

Variant.

mm > rm: *gatlomarmione (M. 26)*.

N

§ 47. INITIAL N.

n > n': *gniochi nūclēūm (Gr. P. 43), gnente nēc + ěntēm (S. 46)*; that is the dental becomes palatal according to the law of least action, for *gnente* = one action and *niente* = two actions; for the same reason *nēc + ūnūm > gnun, nīvēm > gneve*.—Cf. Flor. *gnun Nencia* 13;—Sen. *pergnente Racc.*, 283, *gneve*; ³—Luc. *gnucca nuca*; ⁴—Pis. *gnucca*; ⁵—Tuscan *gneve, gnucca, gnente*; ⁶—Rom. *gnuca, ggnente*; ⁶—Venet. *gnente*.⁶

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 558.

² *Caix, Origini*, 146.

³ *Romania*, XVIII, 603.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 120.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁶ *Caix, Dial. d' Ital.*, 132, 208.

§ 48. MEDIAL N.

1. Intervocalic *n*.

(a) *n* remains: *inanzi* (*Al.* 6), *genaio* (*Ricc.*, 2), *maganzino Arab. machsan* (*Gr. P.* 1).

(b) *n* > *nn*: *gennerale* (*Al.* 3), *dinnegare* 6, *ingennera* 7, *genneratione* 8, *nonnavere* (*Ap.* 9), *nonné* 71, *ennuda* 73, *nonneso* 83, *annulare* (*Gr. P.* 13), *'un-n aete* (*S.* 75), *'un-n è* 155.—Cf. *Flor. si nno Crest.*, 23;—*Sen. inn una* 37;—*Pis. gennero, cannapo, gennerale, tennesse, vennisse, tenne, venne*; ¹—*Aret. tra nnoi* 170, *inn esta* 172, *sennato* 173.

(c) *n* + *ǝ* is written variously as its correlative *l* + *ǝ*; *ni* is correlative to *li*, *nni* to *lli*, *gn* (*n'*) to *gl* (*l'*), *gni* (*n'*) to *gli* (*l'*), *ngn* (*n'*) to *lgl* (*l'*), and *ngni* (*n'*) to *lgli* (*l'*).

1. *ni*: *miniatte* (*Gr. P.* 43).

2. *nni*: *sinniore* (*Gr. P.* 20), *punniale* 21.

3. *gn*: *calugna* = old Italian *calogna cālŭmnĭā* (*Gr. P.* 19), *vegno, tegno*.

4. *gni*: *bisognia* (*Ap.* 3), *abibisognio* 17, *signiore* (*Gr. P.* 22), *ingiegno* 20, *compagnio* 66.

5. *ngn* in old Pistoiese: *tengnano* (*B.* 82), *singnore* 10, *vengnono* (*J.* 14), *ritengnano* 19, *assengnato* 23, and the modern *compangni* (*Gr. P.* 22).

6. *ngni* only in the older language: *vingnia vĭnĕā* (*Ap.* 61), *bangniata, singniore*.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. regnio, signium*; ²—*Prat. tengno Crest.*, 94;—*Sen. singnorìa* 40, *chonpangni* 161; *signiore* 161; *compangnia* 162;—*Pis. sengnor, sengnorìa* 59, *sengnoraggio* 79; *vegna* 166;—*Aret. sengnoragio* 64, *sengnorìa* 168, *sengnor* 171, *Bologna* 176;—*Canzon. ital. sengnoragio, sengnorìa, vengno; tegno, vegno*.³

Variants.

(a) *n* > *n'*: *pezzalagna* (*M.* 40).

¹ *Ibid.*, 150.

³ *Caix, Origini*, 148–9.

² *Schuch., Vokalismus*, I, 116.

(b) $n > l$ by dissimilation: *molimento* (Al. 79) perhaps influenced by *mōles*, *malucano* (S. 14), *consolante* (Gr. P. 13).—Cf. Sen. *calonaco*.¹

(c) $n > r$: *marimette*' (C. 9).

2. n after a consonant.

$gn > n'$ (written *gn*, *gni*, *ngn*, *ngni*. Cf. $n + i > n'$).

1. *gn*: *'gnudo* Ignūdūm (C. 18), *'gnudassi* 19.

2. *gni*: *regnio* (Al. 5), *indegnatione* (Ap. 69), *legnio* (Gr. P. 20), *legniam* 26.

3. *ngn*: *ingnude* (Al. 68), *sengnare* (J. 4).

4. *ngni*: *rengnio* (Ap. 5), *insengniare* 11, *dengni* 15, *sengniale* 41, *angnielo* 57, *sengnio*, *mangnificherà* 63, *stangnio*, *rengniarono* 85.—Cf. Pop. Lat. *congnatus*, *ignes*, *singno*; ²—Sen. *lengna* Crest., 37, *Angnelone* 117;—Pis. *congnosciuto* 167;—Aret. *degnia* 170, *benignio* 175, *regniando* 176, *pegnio* 178, *pugniando* 183; *sdengni*, *dengno* 169, *lengno*, *pungnare* 173, *ignoranza* 174;—Canzon. ital. *segnio*; *dengno*, *sengnare*.³

3. n before a consonant.

(a) n (+ lab.) remains in the prefixes *in* and *con* in old Pistoiese.

1. *in*: *inperciochè* (Al. 7), *inpedimento*, *inpedisca* 14, *inposto*, *inportuno* 15, *inpossevile* 16, *inmantenente* 22, *inpara* 30, *inprende* 44, *inperadore* 53, *inparaule* (J. 16).

2. *con*: *conposta* (Al. 15), *compresa* 16, *conbacteno* 53, *conrronpe* 57.—Cf. Sen. *inbarbagliato*, *'nbrattato*, *inpegnare*, *imperiale*, *'npiccare*, *inpregnare*; *enpazzare*, *enpedimento*, *enpercid*, *enpiegare*.⁴

(b) $n + g > n'$: *diveгна* (Al. 9), *vagnelo* ευ + ανγέλιον, *pertegna* 12, *pognasi* 59, *piagnere* (N. 89), *ugnerlo* 115.

(c) $n + l > ll$ by assimilation in *con* + a personal pronoun in old Pistoiese: *cholloro* (Ap. 11), *collui* 19, *collei* 75.

¹ Zs., IX, 557.

³ Caix, *Origini*, 148–9.

² Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 114.

⁴ Zs., IX, 539, 555.



(d) $n (+ \text{cons.}) > m (+ \text{cons.})$ in old Pistoiese.

1. Before labials by assimilation: *'mframectere* (*Al.* 3), *Sam-paulo* 4, *lamfranchio* 16, *um* (*proverbio*) 38, *Sampietro* 52, *gram* (*parentadi*) 61, *dom* (*francesco*) 81, *chomforta*, *chomfessoro* (*Ap.* 15), *comfusione* 17, *nom* (*finavano*) 21, *gram* (*fornacie*) 37.

2. Before dentals by dissimilation: *temtati* (*Ap.* 9), *pemtire* 13, *nom* (*truovo*) 15, *emtrerrò* 19, *vemtriquattro* 21, *assembio* 35, *vembre*, *dentro* 43, *onipotente* 63, *chom* (*techo*) 81, *ardente* 91, *chomtaminata* 95; *remdette* 3, *grande*, *chamdellieri* 5, *risplemde* 7, *grandissima* 13, *ripremdo* 17, *nascomdeteci* 29, *Rubem* (*d.*) 31, *gramdine* 35, *remdere*, *vemdichare* 47, *amderà* 71, *disciemdeva* 89, *rispremdiente* 93.

3. Before a sibilant: *comsigliò* (*Ap.* 11), *chom* (*sette*) 21, *inciensi* 33, *nom* (*se*) 57, *nom* (*già*) 67, *schomsolata* 77; *dinamzi* 3, *penitenzia* 9, *potenza* 39, *senza* 57.

4. Before gutturals: *adomqua* (*Al.* 3), *imcontrario* 7, *cimque* 39, *sam* (*giovanni*) *B.* 78, *temghono* (*Ap.* 11), *com* (*grande*) 21; *'mgiura* (*Al.* 53), *principe* (*Ap.* 3), *principio* 5, *anche* 9, *gram* (*cittade*) 77, *amgielo* 15, *chom* (*gregarli*) 67.

5. Before a liquid: *sam* (*lorenzo*) *B.* 79.—Cf. *Pop. Lat.* *tantum*, *duocentum*, *cessante*, *Palamino*, *quantum*, *sententiam*, *volutas*, *fervente*, *umde*; *optumsi*, *demsis*; *quincumque*, *avomculus*, *tamgentium*, *umguentum*; ¹—*Prat. comquisa Crest.*, 94, *gram* (*bene*), *nom* (*possa*), *im* (*foco*) 95;—*Sen. comferente*, *sam* (*p*), *alcum* (*modo*), *alcum* (*fratre*); *Antonino*, *dipentore*, *novamta*, *quamto*, *rimcomtro*, *allomgo*, *arcamgelo*; *osservanzia*, *quittamz(i)a*, *nom* (*pajono*); ² *nom* (*so*), *pemsieri Crest.*, 81;—*Aret. im* (*buona*) 169, *comquiso* 182;—*Canzon. ital. nom poria*, *im parte*, *gram bene*, *im frondo*, *comforto*; *pemsar*, *comsento*.³

Variant.

$n + r > rr$: *marritta* (*Gr. P.* 15) by assimilation.

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 75, 109.

² *Zs.*, IX, 556.

³ Caix, *Origini*, 150.

Prosthesis.

n of the preposition *in*:¹ *nentrare* (*C.* 21), *ninferno*, *nabisso*; *n* of the adverb *ne*:² *nusciamo* (*C.* 9), *nesce* 15, *nescita* (*S.* 84) and probably *nempara* = *impara* (*Gr. P.* 25).—Cf. *Flor. nescire Lam. di Cec.*, 10;—*Sen. ninferno*;³—*Luc. nentrare, niscire*;⁴—*Pis. nentrare, nuscire*.⁵

Syncope.

(a) Intervocalic *n*: *Sa iacopo* (*Al.* 35), *no' abbia*, *no' ostante* (*J.* 29) are also modern Pistojesse.

(b) *n* before a cons. only in old Pistojesse: *comendando* and *comesso* (*Al.* 22) by reduction, *co' (loro)* 39, *ubriaza* = *oblianza* 65.—The *n* of the preposition *con* (+ cons.) falls occasionally in Pop. Latin: *cofisse, coiectis, covenimus*.⁶

Epenthesis.

Before a cons.: *Banbilonia* (*Ap.* 59), *andonque* 53 and *angonia* (*M.* 12) by assimilation, *schiansimo* = *spasimo* (*M.* 5), *rinchiesta* (*J.* 8), *stencurito* = *steccolito* (*M.* 46).—Cf. the Pop. Lat. which inserts *n* after long vowels before *s*, and after both short and long vowels before other consonants, than *s*: *Allans, diens, Cheronensi, herens, Indigens, disposuit; candi, recendens, cendentes, frenquens, cognato, tringinta, vinginta, sinbi*;⁷—*Sen. ancadere, anconciare, parangone, rinchiédare, sincondo, enscire*.⁸

NN

§ 49. MEDIAL NN.

Intervocalic *nn* > *n* by reduction: *anonziano* (*Al.* 12), *anonziamente* 16, *inocenzo* 32, *cinamomo* *κιννάμωμον* (*Ap.* 77).

¹ Caix, *Origini*, 150.

² Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, § 196.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 555.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶ Schuch, *Vokalismus*, I, 107.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 112-14.

⁸ *Zs.*, IX, 445, 455.

F. GUTTURALS.

PALATAL C'.

§ 50. INITIAL C'.

Variants.

- (a) $c' > c(h) = k'$: *chelano* (*Al.* 46), *checco* 46, n.
 (b) $c' > t$: *tin caglieria = chincagliera* (*Gr. P.* 12).

§ 51. MEDIAL C'.

1. Intervocalic c'.

$c' > c' (\acute{s})$ is a strong modern Pistoiese and Florentine characteristic: (*à*) *cinque*, (*e*) *cento*, *dice*, *dicea*, *coco*, *cocce*, *face*, *facea*, (*ma*) *cietta*, *cucire*, *cucina*, (*la*) *celia*, (*doppo*) *cena*, (*la*) *ci*, *diacere*, *piace*, *piacere*, *giudice*, *diece*, *undici*, *dodici*, (*che*) *cerchi*, (*una*) *cestina*, *bocina*, *'nvecille*, (*di*) *certo*, *vicino*, (*poero*) *ceco*, *facile*, *difficile*, *porticina*, *decidere*, (*la*) *città*, *macina*, (*di*) *celo*, (*a*) *cervello*, *fece*, *piacimento*, *capace*, *voce*, *noce*, *croce*, *foce*, *luce*, etc.; secondary c' in *camicia*, *bruciare*.—Cf. *Sen.* $\acute{c} > sc$ (\acute{s}^2): *crosce*, *dodisci*, *drusciolare*, *vosce*.¹

Variants.

- (a) $c' > ch (= k')$: *mendichitade* (*Al.* 62), *chiachierone* (*Gr. P.* 20).
 (b) $c' > gh (g')$: *poghissime* (*M.* 89).
 (c) $c' + \acute{i} > ce (kk)$: *noccuolo*, *becchacca* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Sen.* *bracca*, *dicotto*, *fanculla*.¹
 (d) $c' + i > zzi$: *sarifizzi* (*Gr. P.* 22).

2. c' after a consonant.

Variants.

- (a) $l(+c') > l(+z)$: *calzone*.

¹ *Ibid.*, 564.

(b) $(r +) c' > 1. (r +) \check{c}$: *barcetta* (Gr. P. 21); 2. $(r +) t$: *artibugi* (M. 33).

(c) $(s +) c' > sci (\check{s})$: *mascile* (Gr. P. 20).

(d) $(n +) c + i > (n +) gi (g')$: *giangie* O. H. G. wankja (Gr. P. 14) by assimilation.

(e) $(s +) c' + i > sci (\check{s})$: *pescio* (Gr. P. 11).

VELAR C.

§ 52. MEDIAL C.

1. Intervocalic c.

(a) *c* remains: *piacuto* (Al. 20), *sicome* (Ap. 65), *sfiammi-cante* (C. 11).

(b) $c > cc (kk)$: *periccolo* (Al. 43), *accolui* (Ap. 9), *accoloro* 35, *accavallo* 83, *giuccate* (N. 27), *accui* (Gr. P. 40), *articolo*, *domiciliato* Son. Pop., 39.—Cf. Pis. *Pocco*, *articolo* C. Scn., 59;—Aret. *a comune Crest.*, 176, *a ccui* 179.

(c) $c > ch$ in old Pistojesse.¹ Traces of this open consonant *ch* are still found in the Pistojesse mountains. Ciampi² says: "L'aspirazione dopo la lettera *c* accanto alle vocali *a, e, o, u*, è proprio della pronunzia toscana, e specialmente fiorentina. In que' principj della scrittura volgare seguitavasi servilmente il suono che ne udia l'orecchio, perciò in questo codice è quasi sempre l'*h* dopo la *c* unita a quelle vocali. L'orecchio è certamente stato sempre la guida principale nella scrittura; ed ha prevalso di sovente alle regole grammaticale."

Examples in old Pistojesse: (*si*) *chome*, (*a*) *chui*, (*dì*) *chascione*, (*mio*) *charissimo*, (*che*) *chanti*, (*percuote*) *choll'*, (*quella*) *chosa*, (*e*) *chosi* (Al. 3), *pechato*, (*e*) *chato*, *senocha*, (*uomo*) *churiciato*, *amicho* 4, (*de*) *chonsolare*, *bocha* 7, (*dì*) *choloro*, *nemicho* 8, (*puote*) *champare*, (*buoni*) *chostumi* 9, *sichura*, *dicho*, *fuocho*, (*morire*) *cho*, *anticho* 10, (*chì*) *chastiga*, (*quasi*) *chani*

¹ Cf. my article, "Manuscripts in the Pistojesse Dialect," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. VIII, No. 4, cols. 213-14.

² *Albertano da Brescia*, 89.

11, *achatta*, *sechondo* 12, (*gudico*) *cholui*, (*la*) *chonvenevile*, (*la*) *chupidità* 14, (*dei*) *chomendare*, (*apresso*) *chonfortare*, (*la*) *chonfortazione* 15, *echo*, (*tua*) *chugnata*, (*lo*) *chaso*, (*ò*) *churato* 16, *medicho*, *richo*, (*la*) *chasa* 19, etc., (*viene*) *cholli*, (*è*) *choloro*, *domenicha*, (*sette*) *chamdellieri*, (*li*) *chapelli*, *focho* (*Ap.* 5), (*usciva*) *choltello*, *secholi* 7, etc., etc.

Examples in modern Pistoiese: (*di*) *chamica*, (*lu*) *cholpa*, (*dalla*) *chulla* (*Gr. P.* 20), *amicho* 21, *trappocho* 25, (*de*) *chastelli*, (*vacca*) *cholla* 43, *nemicho*.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. sechundo*, *locho*, *monachicho*;¹—*Sen.* (*la*) *chasa*, (*nei*) *chalçari*, *rachonciatura Crest.*, 36, (*e*) *charta* 37, *richolse domichato*, (*che*) *choriva* 38, (*la*) *chonpagna*, *domenicha* 39, (*a*) *chui* 82, *jachomo*, *Cacia-chonti*, *sichuri* 161, *sichome*, (*avemo*) *chostumato*, (*e*) *chosì*, *rachondati*, (*a*) *chagione*, (*avemo*) *chon* 162, *prochuratore*, (*nè*) *chapo*, *achordo*, (*da*) *chorte*, (*e*) *chavalehate*, *achatatata*, (*neuna*) *chosa*, *tochase* 163, etc.;—*Aret.* (*e*) *chasa* 175, *pocho* 176, *dicho*, *anticha*, (*che*) *chapitale*, *giocho* 178.

(d) *c > g*: *pogo* (*M.* 37), *figo*, *sego*, *amigo*, *aguto*, *siguranza* 10, n., (*che*) *gosta*, *seguzione* 84, *asseguero* 107, (*-o*) *gattivo*.

Many words which in Italian are exceptions to the rule that voiceless cons. $\leftarrow >$ voiced, follow the rule in Pistoiese, e. g. *segondo*, *savere*, *tregento*, etc.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. segundo*, *plagat*, *logationis*;²—*Flor.* (*paese*) *gastigar Tancia*, 930;—*Sen.* *aguto*, *fabriga*, *fatiga*, *logagione*, *loriga*, *vagazione*,³ *gativi Crest.*, 165;—*Luc.* *segura* scure, *seguro*, *segondo*, *fogaccia*, *pogo*, *miga*, *sbigorare*, *regare*, *giuogo*;⁴—*Pis.* *siguro*, *segondo*, *pogo*, *oga*, *duga*, *stadigo*;—*Aret.* *pogo Crest.*, 64;—*Canzon. ital.* *siguro*, *poga*, *asigura*, *segondo*.⁵

(e) *c > gh*: in old Pistoiese: *luogho* (*Al.* 7), *pogho* 14, *pregho* 33, (*-e*) *ghostantino* 72, *draghone* (*Ap.* 49), (*quattro*) *ghomiti cùbītūm* 93, and modern *botteghaio* *ăpōthēcārīūm* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Aret. preghar Crest.*, 169, *pogho* 176, *negho* 177, *seghondo* 178.

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 74.

⁴ *A. G.*, XII, 121.

² *Ibid.*, 126-7.

⁵ *Caix, Origini*, 169-70.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 562.

(f) $c > h$ (sometimes written h , but generally c) in modern Pistojesse: *poho*, *domeniha*, *magnifiho* *havallo*, (*bella*) *konsolazione*, (*di*) *huore*, (*fece*) *horrere*, (*horrere*) *harubinieri*, (*bravo*) *hustode*, (*fatto*) *havalieri*, (*di*) *haresima* (*Gr. P.* 50), *rediholo*, *diho*, *sihuro*, *pehora*, *imbriaho*, (*cattivo*) *hane*, (*a*) *hapito*, (*a*) *homido*, *delihato*, (*e*) *hammina*, (*le*) *hapre*, (*le*) *harze*, *cieho*, (*una*) *hattiva*, *foho*, *coho*, *amiho*, *nemiho*, *periholo*, *spettaholo*, *fiho*, *miha*, *cohombro*, *diffihultà*, (*la*) *harne*, (*ugni*) *hosa*, (*si*) *hosta*, (*la*) *hampana*, (*lo*) *hompro*, (*si*) *homprende*, (*la*) *hontadina*, (*mi*) *rihordo*, *mediho*, (*le*) *hode*, *paniho*, (*i*) *havalli*, *mašihana*, *fihura*, *portiho*, etc.—This development of intervocalic $c > h$ is quite as common in modern Florentine as in Pistojesse;—Sen. *havalieri*, *halende*, *hontento*, *judiho*;¹—Luc. Qui pure il ben noto digradamento toscano a fricativa (*la* *hasa*, *memiho*; * * *), * * * se non che il *h* lucchese differisce da quello d'altre parlate, in especie dal fiorentino, per la minore 'stretta orale' come anche mostra il suo totale dileguo;²—Pis. "Qui pure il digradamento a fricativa."³

Variant.

$c + i > cc$ (*kk*): *faccia* *faceat* (*Al.* 76).

2. c after a consonant.

(a) $(l +) c > (l +) ch$: *alchuno*, (*'l*) *chane* (*Al.* 3), (*nel*) *chuore*, (*il*) *chapo*, *oricalcho* (*Ap.* 50), (*nel*) *chospetto* 47, (*yl*) *charatere* 59, and modern (*il*) *chane* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. Sen. (*el*) *chosto* *Crest.*, 163, (*al*) *chumune* 164, (*el*) *chonte* 165;—Pis. *alchuno* 167;—Aret. *alchuno* 169.

(b) $(n +) c > (n +) ch$: *mancha* (*Al.* 10), *inchuminciamenti* 12, (*in*) *chasa* 19, *vincha* 34, *anchora*, (*chon*) *choreggia bianca* (*Ap.* 5), *imbiancharono* 33, *ancho* (*MS.* 22).—Cf. Pop. Lat. *choncava*, *speluncha*;⁴—Sen. (*in*) *chorsa* *Crest.*, 162, (*in*) *choncordia* 163, *ancho* 164, *inchorata*, *inchontanente* 165;—Aret. *spiloncha* 176.

¹ Zs., IX, 563.

² Pieri, A. G., XII, 120–21.

³ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁴ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 73.

(c) $(r +) c > (r +) ch$: *cercha* (*Al.* 3), *porcho* 49, (p) *chombattere* 37, *archo* 41, *merchatanti* 75.—Cf. *Sen. merchantia Crest.*, 161, (pur) *choviene* 162, (per) *chanpare* 165.

(d) $(s +) c > (s +) ch$: *oschura* (*Al.* 8), *naschoso* 10, *dischaccia* 20, *didaschalo* 35, *pascha* (*Ap.* 49), *mescholato* 63, *veschovado* (*MS.* 22), *rischuotere* (*MS.* 183).—Cf. *Pop. Lat. coruscho*; ¹—*Sen. Meschada Crest.*, 36.

3. *c* before a consonant.

(a) $c (+ r) > g (+ r)$: *lagrunare* = *lacrimare* (*Al.* 62), *sagrifitii* (*Ap.* 11), *sagramento* 71, (i) *grostini* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Pop. Lat. sagramenta*; ²—*Sen. gruogo* (*erocum*); ³—*Pis. (povero) gristiano C. Son.*, 23.

(b) $(\text{vow.} +) c (+ r) > h$ in modern Pistoiese: (la) *hresima*, (la) *hrezione* (*Gr. P.* 50), (lo) *hredo*, (lo) *hristiano*, (la) *hroše*, *sahro*.—Cf. *Luc. (la) hroce*, *sahro*.⁴

(c) $c (+ t)$ remains in learned words in old Pistoiese: *doctrina* (*Al.* 3), *sancto*, *dilectione*, *facto*, *dicto* 4, *driectura*, *effecto* 5, *tracta*, *costrecto* 6, *aspecta* 8, *driectamente* 9, *predecte* 12, *dilectamente* 13, *frecta*, *frectoso*, *driectissimo* 14, *tractare*, *lectora* 16, *fructo* 19, *benedecto* 20, *convicti*, *vendecta* 21, *Risurrectione* 25, *auctorità* 33, *dilecta* 38, *sospecto* 42, *vectoria* 51, *distructa* 52, *electi* (*J.* 2), *octo* 3, *fecte* *ěvēctă* (?) 24.—Cf. *Luc. facto B. Luc.*, 1, *dicto*, *tractato* 2, *nocte*, *distrecto* 3, *octo* 5, *effecto* 6, *victoria* 7, *electo* 15, *distructo* 20, *contracto*, *conductor* 41, *afficto* 56, *exattore* 59, *cocto* 84, *sospecto* 83, *Octobre* 90, *auctorità* 99, *diriectamente* 100, *predecto* 111, etc.;—*Pis. dicto Crest.*, 166, *vendecta* 167;—*Canzon. ital. constrecto, giecto, facto, dilecto, tracto, conducto, puncto*.⁵

(d) $c (+ t + i)$ remains. Cf. $(c +) t + i$, § 27, 1.

Variants.

(a) $c (+ d) > z$: *soza* (*Al.* 5).

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 73.

² *Ibid.*, 126.

³ *Zs.*, IX, 562.

⁴ *Pieri, A. G.*, XII, 120–21.

⁵ *Caix, Origini*, 175.

(b) $c(+l) > 1. ce' (čč):$ *speccietti* (Gr. P. 43); 2. *chi* (= *ki*): *orechie* (Al. 3), *ochi* 10; 3. *ti*: *mastio* (Gr. P. 11).

(c) $c(+t) > 1. ce(kk):$ *spacco* (Gr. P. 43); 2. *t*: *altorità* (Ricc., 14); 3. *ss*: *resurressione* (Ap. 87).

Syncope.

1. Intervocalic *c* is regularly syncopated in modern Pistoiese. The different stages of the development of intervocalic $c > g > ch > h$ then syncopation, are all supported by examples; e. g. *paucum* > *pœcu* > *poco* > *pogo* > *pocho* > *poho* > *poo* > *po*: *mia* (M. 33), *siuro*, *rediole* (C. 8), *cio* 11, *manio* 18, *dio* 25, *sarvatia* 35, (*si*) 'onosce, (*progresso*) 'ammìna, (*ugni*) 'osa (Son. Pop., 11), (*santi*) 'aro 17, *gioondo* 19, *poo* 27, *letiare* 29, (*picchiava*) 'ol 33, (*ci*) 'ontaa, (*lo*) 'ondanna, (*di*) 'acio 35, *pizziore*, (*mi*) 'ultello 37, (*partire*) 'onfini 43, *avvoato* 45, (*di*) 'ore 47, (*di*) 'orsa, (*è*) 'avalleggeri, (*enno*) 'orazzieri, *nemio* 49, (*di*) 'otone 55, (*su*) 'omitato 61, (*la*) 'ambiale 63, *coombero*, (*della*) *Iesa*, (*la*) *iave* (Gr. P. 12), *difiultà*, (*questa*) 'ofaccia 15, (*la*) 'arne, (*si*) 'ompra 24, etc.; I have noted two examples also in old Pistoiese: *afatiamento* (Al. 3), *ebraiamente* (Ap. 39).—The syncopation of intervocalic *c* is of frequent occurrence in modern Florentine;—Sen. *auto*, *amio*, *coo* (*cuoco*), *diano* (*decanum*), *dio* (*dico*), *givo*, *musia*, *perìolo*, *rediole*, *siurare*,¹ (*bevetti*) 'or, (*mi*) 'ara, *giudiare* C. Son., 1, (*ti*) 'onfondi 3, *avvoato* 4, *poo* 5, (*di*) 'ascare 7, (*du*) 'astagne 8, (*mondo*) 'ane, (*de*) 'omprimenti 10, *Gioondo*, (*tanto*) 'onfidenza 12, (*fate*) 'onfusione 13, etc.;—Luc. (*la*) *asa*, *nemio* ecc.;²—Pis. *repubbria*, *assiuro* C. Son., 8, *foo* 9, (*di*) 'oraggio 10, (*mi*) 'onfondo 12, *dio*, (*co*) 'avalli 13, (*fece*) 'omprimenti 16, *amio*, (*mi*) 'ugino, etc.

2. *c* before a consonant.

(a) Before *r*: *saramento* (J. 2), (*una*) 'resta (C. 11), (*lo*) 'redo 15, *sarestano* (*un*) *rimandello* (Gr. P. 12), *miroscopio* 14, *sarafizzi* 22, (*dottrina*) 'ristriana 50.—Cf. Sen. *saramento*, *sara-*

¹ Zs., IX, 562.

² Pieri, A. G., XII, 120–21.



ficie, (lo) 'redo *C. Son.*, 7, (*Dio*) 'ristiani 25;—*Pis.* (lo) 'rederesti *C. Son.*, 12, (la) 'rociata 44.

(b) Before *t*; that is *ct* > *tt* by assimilation and then > *t* by reduction: *otava* (*Al.* 8), *vendeta* 21, *drito* 28, *drotrina* 29, *dileta* 38, *fato* 58, *vetoria* 65, *dilezione* 75, *charatere* (*Ap.* 59), *benedito* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Pop. Lat. vitoria*;¹—*Sen. otobre Crest.*, 36, *deto* 37, *oto* 38;—*Luc. exatione B. Luc.*, 31.

Variant.

Before *d*: *anedotto* (*Gr. P.* 47).

Epenthesis.

1. Intervocalic *c*: *giranico* (*Gr. P.* 17), *stantico* 24; *medico* 13 is formed by analogy with *police*, *indice*.

2. After *r*: *sciorecinati* (*M.* 68).

PALATAL CC'.

§ 53. MEDIAL CC'.

(a) *cc'* > *c'* (ċ): *socidere* (*Al.* 35), *faccia* 52, *uciso* (*Ap.* 53), *lucese* (*Ricc.*, 10).

(b) *cc'* > *cc'* (čč): *riccetha* (*Al.* 62), *tocchetto* (*M.* 35).

VELAR CC.

§ 54. MEDIAL CC.

1. Intervocalic cc.

(a) *cc* > *ch*: *pechato* (*Al.* 4), *bocha* 7, *achusatore* (*Ap.* 51), *suchero* (*Gr. P.* 23).

(b) *cc* > *ceh*: *echo* (*Ap.* 5), *boccha* 7, *riccho* 9, *saccho* 27, *fiacchola* 35, *piccholi* 87, *roccha* (*Gr. P.* 20), *acchovacata*, *saccho*, *schochhare*, *becchacca* 21, *socchorso* 44.—Cf. *Aret. toccha Crest.*, 179.

¹ Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 134.

2. *cc* before a consonant.

cc (+ *l*) > *c* (+ *l*): *eclesia* (*J.* 12).

Epenthesis.

Before *qu*: *terrácqueo* (*Gr. P.* 12).

CH

§ 55. INITIAL CH.

ch > *c* (*k*): *cocolata* (*Gr. P.* 43) by assimilation.

PALATAL G'.

§ 56. MEDIAL G'.

1. Intervocalic *g'*.

(a) *g'* > *g'* (*ǵ*) in old Pistojesse: *legerai* (*Al.* 4), *lege* 6, *legieramente* 7, *fugire* 12, *afigeno* 19, *regesse* 24.

(b) *g'* > *g'* (*ǵ*) in modern Pistojesse and Florentine just as intervocalic *c'* > *c'* (*ǣ*): (*hua*) *gira*, (*co*) *gesti*, (*le*) *genti*, etc.

Variants.

(a) *g'* > *v*: *pavesi* *pāgēnsēm* (*S.* 253); the *g'* disappears and then the voiced labial glide *v* is introduced to break hiatus.

(b) *g'* > *ǵ*: (*terra*) *Ghozzi* *Gogem*, *Maghozzi* (*Ap.* 87).

2. *g'* after a consonant.

Variants.

(a) (*n* +) *g'* > (*n* +) *g*: *Angolino* (*Gr. P.* 21).

(b) (*r* +) *g'* > (*r* +) *i*: *ariento*, *inariantata* (*J.* 24).—Cf. *Flor. ariento Tancia*, 926;—*Luc. ariento B. Luc.*, 48.

Syncope.

Intervocalic *g'*: (*le*) *iande* = *ghiandi* < *gländēm* (*Gr. P.* 13).

VELAR G.

§ 57. INITIAL G.

g remains: *goia* (*Al.* 65), and modern *goie* (*Gr. P.* 21), *gubba* 22, *gallo* 23.

§ 58. MEDIAL G.

1. Intervocalic *g*.

(a) *g* > *c*: *ficurati* (*S.* 168), *sficurito* 210, *ficura* (*C.* 17), (*febbre*) *castica* (*Gr. P.* 25).—Cf. *Sen. ficura, lecato*.¹

(b) *g* > *gh* in old Pistoiese: *Aghostino* (*Al.* 5), *reghole* 46, *sinaghogha* (*Ap.* 9), *gastigho* 17, *aghore* 39, *piagha* 45, (*terra*) *Ghozzi* Gogem, *Maghozzi* 87, and modern *voghan* (*Gr. P.* 21).—Cf. *Aret. fighura Crest.*, 170, *mitighando, piagha* 175.

Variants.

(a) *g* > *ch* in old Pistoiese: *rumichare* (*Al.* 30), (*sofferente*) *chovernarsi* 60.

(b) *g* > *v*: *tevoli tēgŭlă* (*Gr. P.* 17), *bavulli bag + ŭlŭm* 43; the *g* disappears and the voiced labial glide *v* is introduced to break hiatus. Cf. intervocalic *g' > v*.

2. *g* after a consonant.

(a) (*l* +) *g* > (*l* +) *gh*: *volghare* (*Al.* 16), *tolgha* (*Ap.* 17), *folghore* 19.

(b) (*n* +) *g* > 1. (*m* +) *gh*: *temghono* (*Ap.* 11); 2. (*n* +) *gh*: *lunghamente* (*Al.* 7), *inghanno* 9, *vengho* (*Ap.* 7).—Cf. *Pop. Lat. longho*.²

3. *g* before a consonant.

g (+ *n*) remains: *cognosci* (*Al.* 10), and modern *cognoscere* (*S.* 62).—Cf. *Luc. cognoscere*; ³—*Pis. cognoscere*.⁴

¹ *Zs.*, IX, 565.

³ *A. G.*, XII, 122.

² *Schuch.*, *Vokalismus*, I, 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 151.

Prosthesis.

granocchiaccio (S. 5), *granocchio* (C. 75).—Cf. Luc. *gragnolo*; ¹—Pis. *granocchio*.²

Q(U)

§ 59. MEDIAL Q.

1. Intervocalic *q*.

q > *h* (generally written *e*) in modern Pistoiese: (*ma*) *huando*, (*e*) *huarche*, (*vieni*) *huè*, (*vieni*) *hua*, (*e*) *hualo*, (*due*) *huattrinelli*, (*scrama*) *huarcun*, (*huella*) *huercia*, (*e*) *home*, (*buscassi*) *huarhosa*, (*sulla*) *hualità*, (*una*) *huantità*, (*e*) *hualunche*, (*se*) *huattro*, (*e*) *huasi*, (*ma*) *huasimente*, (*ecco*) *huanto*, (*uno*) *huattrino*, and in old Pistoiese (*errasti*) *quando* (Al. 47).—Cf. Flor. which has regularly the same development of intervocalic *q* > *h*;—Luc. (*la*) *huantita*, etc.³

Variants.

- (a) *q* > *qq*: *aqque* (Ap. 5), *laqqiè* (M. 51).
- (b) *q* > *c'* (*č*): *riciedere* (Al. 12), *diocè* = *dio che* 22.
- (c) *q* > *g*: (*zii*) *guasi* (Gr. P. 23), *ligori* 43.—Cf. Flor. (*resta*) *guasi* C. Son., 11;—Sen. (*rimase*) *guasi* C. Son., 14;—Pis. *liguori* C. Son., 84.
- (d) *q* > *cc* (*kh*): *accua*, *accuolina* (C. 18).

2. *q* after a consonant.

(*n* +) *q* > 1. (*n* +) *ch* (= *k'*): *quantunche* (Al. 63), *qualunche* (J. 5), *donche* (C. 8), *chiunche*; 2. (*n* +) *c*, *h* (*h*): *cincu'* (S. and C. 4), (*un*) *huattrino*, (*un*) *huattrinello* where the tongue is drawn back from the teeth and the velum is closed so that simple aspiration is produced.—Cf. Flor. *donche Tancia*, 895;—Sen. *chiunche*, *qualunche*, *donche*, *onche*.⁴

¹A. G., XII, 122.²*Ibid.*, 121.²*Ibid.*, 151.⁴Zs., IX, 563.

Syncope.

Intervocalic *q*: (*codesti*) *uaderni* (*Gr. P.* 24), *euatore* 50, (*ecco*) *ui*, (*vieni*) *ua*, *auila*, (*la*) *uantità*, (*la*) *uale*, (*ate*) *uarche*, (*uella*) *uercia*, (*e*) *uasi*, (*hai*) *uasimente*, (*va*) *uando*, (*vuole*) *uanto*, (*la*) *ualità*, (*uno*) *uattrino*.—Cf. *Flor.* which regularly syncopates intervocalic *q*;—*Sen.* (*vieni*) *'ua C. Son.*, 9, (*bada*) *'uanto* 10, (*guardi*) *'ome* 11, (*la*) *'uadriglia* 29, (*essere*) *'ualunque* 65.

X

§ 60. MEDIAL X (= KS).

1. Intervocalic *x*.

(a) *x* remains in learned words in old Pistojesse: *proximana* (*Al.* 54), *proximo* 75, *crocifixo* (*J.* 3), *relaxare* 16, *allexandro* (*Ricc.*, 24), *exercito* 28.—Cf. *Luc. proximo B. Luc.*, 2, *exactione* 18, *relaxare* 29, *texeno* 50, *taxare* 87;—*Canzon. ital. luxura, exempro, proximo*;¹—“Anche nel P. Intell., e così in molti cdd. del sec. XIV e talvolta nell A. Petr. e perfino in rima: *crocifixo* (: *abisso*) *C. D. Comm.* 96.”¹

(b) *x > s*: *proximo* (*Al.* 5), *masimamente* 12.—Cf. *Pop. Lat. prosima*.²

(c) *x > ss*: *asempri* *ëxëmplūm* (*Al.* 9), *essercito* (*Ap.* 83), *lassa*[*mi*] (*C.* 9).—Cf. *Luc. lassare B. Luc.*, 114;—*Pis. lassamo C. Son.*, 16.

2. *x* before a consonant.

Variants.

(a) *x (+ c)* remains: *exceptione* (MS. 283).

(b) *x (+ p)* remains: *experto* (*J.* 6).

(c) *x (+ s) > 1. c' (č)*: *preciutto* *përëxsüctūm* (*Gr. P.* 21);
2. *sc (sk)*: *scocchi* *ëxsücūm* (*Gr. P.* 67); 3. *st'*: *stioccò* *ëxsücāūt*

¹ Caix, *Origini*, 176.

² Schuch., *Vokalismus*, I, 75.

(Gr. P. 36).—Cf. Sen. *excesso, excepto*; ¹—Luc. *excepto B. Luc.*, 12; *preciutto*; ²—Pis. *preciutto*.³

J

§ 61. INITIAL J.

j > g in both old and modern Pistojesse: *gusto* (Al. 6), *gudicare* 7, *Gobo* 20, *ga jam* 47, *govare* 48, *gudice* 56, *guridizione* 57, *gustamente* 62, *gudico* = *giudicio* 63, *Guda* 64, *guratori* 70, *gamai* 71, *gustitia* 75, *goventudine* 76; *govane*, *goccolone* (Gr. P. 20), *Gotto* 21, *guramento* 44, *gudicie* 22.—Cf. Sen. *Govani*, *gudisio*,⁴ *gugno*, *gudice Crest.*, 39.

Variants.

j > di: *diaceglio* (M. 38), *diaceglione* 41, *diacere* (C. 24).

§ 62. MEDIAL J.

1. Intervocalic *j*.

Variants.

(a) *j > g' (ǵ)*: *magiormente* (Al. 5), *magiori* 13, *pegio* 30, *pegiora* 63.—Cf. Prat. *magiore Crest.*, 95;—Sen. *magio* 36.

(b) *j > g*: *magoremente* (Al. 67), *magore* 68.

2. *j* after a consonant.

(*n* +) *j > (n* +) *g*: *ingura* (Al. 8).

H

§ 63. INITIAL H.

h remains in old Pistojesse: *honore* (Al. 5), *honesta* 7, *humile* 13, *huomini* 38, *homana* 48, *hora* (J. 14), *honestamente*, *habiendo* 15, *heride* 25, *homicidiale* (Ap. 91).

¹ Zs., IX, 564.

² A. G., XII, 122.

³ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁴ Zs., IX, 565.

Variants.

(a) *h* falls and the *l* of the article takes its place: *lamo* hāmūm (*Gr. P.* 15).

(b) *h* falls and *r* takes its place: *racinto* hyacinthum (*Ap.* 93), *ritropisia* hydrops + (*Gr. P.* 14).—Cf. *Luc. ritropico*;¹—*Pis. ritropico*.²

§ 64. MEDIAL H.

Variant.

Intervocalic *h* falls and *l'* takes its place: (*di*) *glieri* hērī (*M.* 79).

To be followed by the Morphology.

JAMES DOWDEN BRUNER.

¹*A. G.*, XII, 123.

²*Ibid.*, 151.

LIFE.

I, James Dowden Bruner, was born near Leitchfield, Kentucky, May 19, 1864. I attended college two and one-half years at Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky., and one year at Franklin College, Franklin, Ind., taking the degree of proficient in the former institution in 1886, and that of A. B. in the latter in 1888. During the year 1885-6 I was Instructor in Latin at Georgetown College, Ky., and for two years, 1887-9, Instructor in French and German at Franklin College, Ind. In October, 1890, I entered the Johns Hopkins University as a graduate student in the special department of the Romance Languages under the direction of Prof. A. Marshall Elliott, assisted by Drs. H. A. Todd and F. M. Warren. In my first subordinate subject (Italian) I followed the lectures of Prof. Elliott and Dr. John E. Matzke, and in my second subordinate (The Renaissance in Italy), those of Prof. H. B. Adams. I spent the summer of 1891 (four months) in Paris for practice in speaking French, and at the same time I carried on linguistic investigations in the National Library. In February, 1892, upon the advice of Prof. Elliott, I went to Italy to collect material for my thesis on the Pistoiese Dialect, returning to Baltimore in October of the same year. I studied several months of this time under Prof. Pio Rajna of the *R. Istituto di Studi Superiori di Firenze*, and did manuscript and other work in the Florentine National Library. In July, 1893, I was elected Assistant Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois.

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